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ABSTRACT

Using a mailed questionnaire, 2,392 undergraduate agriculture majors in 14 Southern universities were surveyed to determine how they would rate a set of agricultural and agriculturally-related occupations and whether their sex and past farming experience were responsible for divergent responses. Questionnaire items and scaling techniques closely paralleled those used in the National Opinion Research Center Study (North-Hatt Scale). Data analysis revealed that the agriculture students rated agricultural occupations similarly to the way others have rated the general occupational hierarchy. Professional, managerial and scientific occupations were at the top of the scale and manual labor was at the bottom. There were more variations in the certainty of the rankings in the middle of the scale of sixty occupations. Respondents' sex and farm background proved to be insignificant as variables. In addition it was found that significant factors in determining prestige were specific training or education and ownership of the means of production. This research is significant because it was the initial investigation of the prestige of agricultural occupations. It also gives insight into the occupational structure of agriculture and can be useful in educational planning. (SB)

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRESTIGE STRUCTURE OF AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

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A Thesis

by

LIANNE MELODY FRANK

Submitted to the Graduate College of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

December 1978

Major Subject: Sociology

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRESTIGE STRUCTURE OF AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

A Thesis

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December 1978

ABSTRACT

An Investigation into the Prestige Structure of Agricultural Occupations. (December 1978)

Lianne Melody Frank, B.A.T., Sam Houston State University

Chairman of Advisory Committee: Dr. Arthur G. Cosby

The development of a prestige scale of fifty agricultural and agriculturally related occupations is reported. The scale was constructed utilizing data from a mailed-questionnaire survey conducted during the spring semester of 1977 at fourteen universities in the southern region of the United States. A fifteen percent random sample of undergraduate majors in agriculture at these schools were contacted, and 2,392 students (seventy-four percent) participated in the study. Questionnaire items and scaling techniques closely parallel those used in the National Opinion Research Center study (North-Hatt Scale).

The prestige hierarchy developed appeared to be very similar to those resulting from earlier studies. Professional and managerial occupations received the highest prestige scores while manual laborers were given the lowest. In addition, it was found that neither sex nor farming experience of the student accounted for any large discrepancies in perception and/or knowledge of these occupations and their prestige in our society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the unusual cooperation of the students and administrators of the land grant universities in the Southern region. Their generosity in providing their assistance in terms of materials, ideas, reviews, and, of course, the time to respond to questionnaires constitutes the "critical mass" for a broad base study of agricultural prestige. Equally important has been the financial support of the Texas Agriculture Experiment Station through the regional project S-114 "Defining and Achieving Life Goals: A Process of Human Resource Development." Their support allowed not only for the conduct of the study, but also the financial assistance needed to complete my Masters program.

It seems impossible to express the graditude that I feel for the many people who helped me finish this and remain sane. Simple "thank-you's" never seem quite adequate, so I hope that those for whom they are intended will look past the words and understand.

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To Dean H. O. Kunkel I must express an especially big thanks for taking time out from his busy schedule to serve on my committee. Not only did he encourage me in my research, but he also helped me to realize the practical side of this academic endeavor. I am certainly

grateful as well to Dr. Alex McIntosh, for he has always been encouraging and enthusiastic; not only as a member of my committee, but throughout my years at A&M he has offered kind words, useful criticisms, and inspiring ideas. And, Dr. Jim Copp has never ceased to brighten up my days with a friendly "good to see you."

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In order to assess the positions of society members along a vertical dimension, sociologists have long employed the concept of "occupational prestige". The study of occupational prestige is, in essence, the evaluation of the honor and esteem--or lack of such--associated with holding a specific occupation.

Occupational prestige studies span over a half century of social science research, originating with a 1925 empirical study conducted by Counts, which was designed to determine the social status associated with a number of selected occupations. Since that time, research on the topic has proliferated. In fact, the breadth of, and continued interest in, this area are readily reflected in Treiman's 1977 monograph, which synthesizes the results of occupational prestige studies conducted in nearly sixty countries.

For the most part, these past studies have focused on the general occupational structure and the assessment of the prestige of rather common, well-known jobs. Some researchers, however, have narrowed their scopes to study single occupational families. For instance, the prestige of medical professions has been well-evaluated (Hartmann, 1934; Kreisberg, 1962; Segal, 1962; Gamson and Schuman, 1963; Shortell, 1974), as has that of educational occupations

---

This thesis follows the literary style of the American Sociological Review.

(Hartmann, 1934; Richey, Fox, and Fauset, 1951; Mason and Gross, 1955). However, until now, no extant research has dealt with the prestige accorded agricultural occupations. The purpose, then, of the research reported here was to extend the study of occupational prestige into the labor system of agriculture.

Objectives

The study was designed to meet two specific objectives. The first was to determine how a set of agricultural and agriculture-related occupations would be rated, in terms of prestige, by a large group of Southern agriculture students. The methodology followed for obtaining these ratings and for analyzing the data was very similar to that developed by the National Opionion Research Center in its 1947 study of occupational prestige. Prestige scores were computed, and a hierarchy of agricultural occupations was developed. Additional analysis was conducted to attempt to reveal the esoteric nature of some of the occupations and to evaluate how well-established the prestige of these occupations really is.

The second objective was to determine whether differences in certain social characteristics of those people rating the occupations were responsible for their divergent responses. It was assumed that different access to, and different experience with, the occupational structure of agriculture would result in markedly different assessments of the prestige of these occupations as well as different levels of knowledge about them and their places in society. Recent changes in the Colleges of Agriculture across the country pointed to two factors which might be of importance in determining differences--

sex and farming experience (Maeroff, 1976; Hensley, 1976). So, the sample was divided along these lines to form four categories, and the responses of each were analyzed to determine whether these characteristics did, in fact, explain differences in the perceptions of the agricultural hierarchy.

Significance of the Problem

The information gained from this study may be useful in several ways. First, this research investigates the prestige of many occupations never before evaluated. In the past, it has been difficult to rank many agricultural workers in terms of prestige because they were often consolidated into the single category "farmer". As Caplow (1954:32) points out, "farmer" may be anyone from "the hungry Ozark mountaineer" to the "millionaire Texas rancher," so it does not make sense to give them all the same prestige rating. The present research may be useful in providing prestige scores for many occupations which, until now, had never rated.

Second, this study may be one of the initial investigations into the agricultural situs. Paul Hatt (1950:539) noted that prestige studies might best be conducted within single situses, or "occupations whose social system may be considered as a unit." Some might argue that the occupations included in this study do not represent the agricultural situs because they include many agriculture-related and agri-business jobs, but one should keep in mind that situses are not mutually exclusive. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the possibility of scaling these occupations as

Hatt did, using Guttman techniques, the information gained in this study may provide the foundation for just such a project.

This study will also give insight into the occupational structure of agriculture. Dwindling food supplies and farmer strikes have revived interest in agriculture and reinforced its importance in our society. It seems useful to understand better, or perhaps simply confirm previous knowledge about, the equity of labor and the rewards system which keep that occupational structure operating. Information of this sort could be valuable in shaping agriculture to meet the changing needs of our society.

The knowledge gained could also be of use in educational planning. As Thomas (1956) points out, the most appealing occupations are likely to draw large numbers of people to them; occupations which do not promise high material rewards might still be quite appealing because of intangible rewards such as prestige. Increased information about these rewards and the appeal of certain occupations may be valuable to planners, administrators, and counselors, both at the high school and college levels. This research might provide educators with better understanding of their students and their occupational choices.

Theoretical Orientation

The study of occupational prestige is based on the idea that in all societies some degree of social stratification occurs; there are always some people considered superior to others.

> Men [and women] evaluate the objects, acts, and human attributes with which they come into contact. These evaluations may become systematized into a hierarchy of values. The individual makes judgment

> of others and ranks them on the basis of his hierarchy of values and his knowledge concerning what characteristics these other persons possess. Such a judgment of rank made about either the total person or relatively stable segments of the person constitutes the social status of the person (for the individual making the judgment).
>
> (Goldhamer and Shils, 1939:179)

Hatt (1950) asserts that an accurate index of social status reflects not only the positions a person holds in different social structures, but also how well he or she performs in those positions. If, in fact, these are the requirements of a good index of status, it would seem that occupation would not be satisfactory, for it does not account for quality of performance and is a reflection of position in only one of many social structures. Yet, it is used in just such a manner quite frequently.

The reasons for this practice are numerous. In our society, occupation is assumed to be a "relatively stable segment" of a person (Gross, 1959). Afterall, we spend almost half our waking hours on the job; "if the time we spend at various activities is in any way indicative of their importance for social stratification, it would be hard to think of a more salient membership group than occupation" (Hodge, 1962:337).

A person's occupation is strongly associated with other aspects of his or her life. Occupations usually reflect training or education and determine rewards (Hodge, 1962:338). Dublin and Lotka note "the work a man does, the condition under which his work is done, and the wages he receives for doing it determine in great measure the circumstances of his life, the house he lives in, the clothes he

wears, the food he eats, and his recreation" (Lastrucci, 1946).

As society has moved from one of ascription to one which greatly emphasizes achievement, occupation has become increasingly important as a status-fixing attribute.[1] An ascribed status is one which is assigned to a person according to his or her ancestry, sex, political or religious affiliation, etc. However, values have changed somewhat, and people are no longer simply given esteem and honor; instead they must earn them. So it makes sense that occupation has become an important determinant of status. Caplow (1954) explains three general trends which account for this emphasis on occupation--aggregation, differentiation, and rationalization. Aggregation, or the substitution of formal organizations for informal groups, has brought about large degrees of anonymity and impersonality; positions, and not people, have come to be the structural foundations of groups. Differentiation has caused increased specialization, so that often one cannot know the attributes which characterize a job because there exist so many jobs; one must merely rely on job labels. And, rationalization has brought about the idea that the assignment of occupations is scientific, appropriate, and efficient; men and women are well-matched with their jobs. It has come to be assumed that occupation is a fair index of intelligence, ability, character, and personal acceptability.

Knowing a person's occupation, then, gives us insight into that person's position in other social structures and so suggests

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[1] Glenn (1963) argues that for Blacks, education, rather than occupation, is probably the most important factor determining prestige.

appropriate treatment of the person (Gross, 1959; Treiman, 1977); we may better judge whether to show respect, indifference, or contempt. This treatment of the other person as superior, equal, or subordinate reflects what is, in the traditional sociological sense, prestige. Thus, occupational prestige refers to "the chances of deference acceptance, and derogation associated with the incumbency of occupational roles and membership in occupational collectives" (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1972). Attempts to measure and understand this social phenomena have resulted in a vast area of social science research--the study of occupational prestige. This study lends further insight into that growing field of research by examining the prestige structure of agricultural occupations.

CHAPTER II

RELIABILITY OF THE POPULAR OPINION APPROACH

Because occupational prestige is assigned by the general population of a society, it has become common practice to measure prestige using popular evaluations of selected job titles. The popular opinion approach has been deemed the most effective (Thomas, 1956) and the most frequently used (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1972) method for assessing the social status accorded certain occupations in society.

The review of the literature contained in the present thesis is organized into two chapters. The first, Chapter II, discusses those studies which employ popular opinions, in some form or another, to evaluate perceptions of the occupational prestige hierarchy. It is in Chapter II that support for the reliability of the popular opinion method as a means of evaluating the prestige of jobs is presented. However, the validity of the method is not addressed until Chapter III, which includes a synopsis of those works that focus on understanding and explaining the findings of prestige studies. Not surprisingly, the reliability of the method is much easier to establish than is its validity.

Ranking Occupations

One of the first widely-used procedures for evaluating popular opinions of selected occupations was that of rank-ordering. The precedent for using the ranking method was set by Counts (1925), who asked six groups of teachers and students to rank a list of forty-five occupations according to the social standing of each. His

analysis revealed very close agreement among the groups and little difference in rankings when controlling for factors such as place of residence, parents' occupations, occupational expectations, etc. It was suggested that "occupations differ greatly in social status and that the position of a particular occupation is fairly constant" (Counts, 1925:22). Counts also found that the occupational expectation of an individual affected only slightly his or her judgment of the jobs being presented.

Numerous investigations followed which used this ranking technique, and the findings of all were similar. Anderson (1927) asked male college students enrolled in four academic schools to rank a set of twenty-five occupations, based on their estimates of the contributions each occupation made to society. The four groups were found to give quite similar rankings, once again suggesting that each occupation has a fairly definite status in our society. In fact, respondents' courses of study and their classifications in school seemed to cause no marked change in attitudes toward these jobs.[1]

Still further support to the existance of an established occupational hierarchy was given by Hartman's 1934 study. He had several sets of respondents rank twenty-five occupations in the "order of your admiration" (Hartmann, 1934:146). Examining the resulting lists, he found that social background had little effect on perceptions of the hierarchy. He also noted that there was little tendency to overestimate one's own occupation.

---

[1]Additional reports by Anderson (1928, 1934) give similar results.

Hartmann concludes his study with a note about the historical and geographical relativity of these social prestige rankings and, as an example, suggests that "the esteem in which the American public holds bankers has probably altered markedly from 1929 to 1933" (Hartmann, 1934:152). Quite appropriately, the next major study which used rankings to measure prestige addressed just that topic; in 1935 Nietz published a paper concerned with the effects of the Depression on the social status of certain occupations. Using the rankings made at three different points in time--before the Depression (1928), during the heart of the Depression (1932), and during the recovery (1934)--Neitz concluded that this major historical event did not affect the social status of occupations as much as might be expected: "The occupations of policeman, insurance agent, soldier, barber, and bookkeeper rose in social status, while the occupations of motorman, drygoods merchant, grocer, farmer, and chauffeur lowered. Contrary to expectations, the status of banker was not lowered" (Neitz, 1935:460).

Studies of prestige employing the rankings of occupations continued. Ruch (1941, 1958)[2], interested in the satisfactions people obtain through their work, had college students rank twenty-five occupations in terms of social prestige. Again the rankings were similar to past evaluations. In 1946, Byers addressed the same question with the rankings given by a somewhat different group of evaluators--soldiers in the U.S. Army. Perhaps his most interesting

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[2]The second and fifth editions of his book, Psychology and Life, each contain reports of studies he obviously conducted but never published elsewhere.

finding was that soldiers ranked the occupation "soldier" at the bottom of the list. The other occupations, however, were assigned places quite similar to those given by others in the past.

Studies continued to confirm the general findings. Students at a teachers' college did not escalate the position of "teacher" on the prestige hierarchy, despite their probable entrance into that field (Welch, 1949). Sex, type of communities, scholarship, teaching experience, reaction to community control, income and occupation of parents, etc. seemed to have little effect on college students' perceptions of the hierarchy (Richey, Fox, and Fauset, 1951).

The use of the ranking technique, then, has produced extremely reliable results. When asked to rank occupations in terms of some sort of social standing, respondents have done so in very like manner. It seems that a rather well-established occupational hierarchy exists, with professional and managerial positions at the top and manual laborers at the bottom. In addition, background and social position appear to affect the perception of that hierarchy very little.

Rating Occupations

From the rank-ordering of occupations came a new technique for evaluating prestige--the rating of occupations. Smith (1935) felt that something was lacking in the study of occupational prestige, and so argued for the development of a prestige scale which gave dependable numerical values to each occupation. Studies in the past had suffered a number of weaknesses: (1) the lists of occupations were not similar enough to allow a synthesis of information, (2) none of the studies used respondents from distinctly different parts

of the country, and (3) only a very small number of occupations had ever been ranked (Smith, 1943). Trying to correct some of these problems, Smith offered 345 college students a list of one hundred occupations which they were to evaluate in two ways. First, they were to decide where at a dinner table honoring a celebrity they would seat members of different occupational groups. Second, each student was to give the occupations scores, ranging from 100, for the most prestige, to 0, for the least. Smith then set up an occupational hierarchy which corresponded to these evaluations. He felt that if other social scientists would use this same technique in other parts of the country and with other occupations, a reliable prestige scale could eventually be developed for all occupations.

However, in 1947 a new precedent was set in the study of occupational prestige. North and Hatt, in collaboration with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), sampled 2930 persons from the U.S. white population and asked each to judge a set of ninety occupations. During the interviews, each respondent was presented a rating card which stated:

> For each job mentioned, please pick out the statement which best gives your own personal opinion of the general standing that such a job has:
>
> 1. Excellent standing
> 2. Good standing
> 3. Average standing
> 4. Somewhat below average standing
> 5. Poor standing
> X. I don't know where to place that one.
>
> (Reiss, 1961:19)

In order to obtain a single score for each occupation, all "don't know" answers were first eliminated, and the other five response categories were calculated to a percent base of one hundred. Each percentage was then multiplied by a weight: "excellent" received

a score of five; "good," four; "average," three; "somewhat below average," two; and "poor," one. The sums of these weighted scores for each occupation were divided by five, and the results were the "prestige scores," which ranged from 33 to 96. The occupations were ranked according to these scores to form a prestige hierarchy of American occupations (Reiss, 1961:81). The resulting hierarchy soon proved a benchmark in the study of occupational prestige.

Stability of the Hierarchy

Change Through Time

Studies of this social phenomena continued to be conducted, and their findings were leading to an interesting conclusion--the scale of prestige developed in the 1947 NORC study was remarkably stable. Brown's (1955) study of Negroes' assessments of occupations showed little difference in the ratings of sixty-five occupations included in both that study and the 1947 one. Equally supportive was the 0.96 rank-order correlation obtained for the seventeen occupations common to the NORC study and a study conducted by Burnstein, Moulton, and Liberty (1963).

In 1963, Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi, working with the National Opinion Research Center, carried out a small-scale replication of the 1947 study:

> The replication was undertaken as the first step in the research program in order to determine whether appreciable shifts had occurred in prestige scores in the time period 1947-1963 so that the effects of improvements in technical procedures could be distinguished from effects of historical changes in any comparisons that would be

> undertaken between the 1947 study and the more definitive researches presently underway.
>
> (Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi, 1964:322)

A quota sample of 651 respondents taken from the national population were asked to rate the same set of occupations in the same manner used in the 1947 study (see page 12). The ratings were scored in the same way as previously done, a hierarchy was developed, and it was compared to the 1947 one. A correlation coefficient of 0.99 was computed. The 1963 hierarchy was then compared with those of Counts (1925) and Smith (1943), and analysis revealed that "there have been no substantial changes in occupational prestige in the United States since 1925," though there had been slight overall upward shifts in scores and noticeable gains in knowledge about occupations (Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi, 1964:296).

Cross-Cultural Stability

Sociologists and other social scientists have divided themselves into basically two groups with regard to the subject of social organization. The first are the culturalists, who believe that each society possesses its own value system and so has its own notions about education, religion, work, etc. It would seem, then, that each society would also have a unique pattern of occupational prestige. The other group, the structuralists, are concerned with the interactions, relationships, and institutions which make up the social system. For them it would follow that societies with similar structures would also have similar educational systems or occupational prestige hierarchies. Members of this second group have frequently used studies of occupational prestige as support for their arguments.

Inkeles and Rossi (1956) contended industrialization resulted in similarities in prestige hierarchies. Their study of six countries--Germany, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, the U.S.S.R., and the United States--resulted in very high correlations of rankings and they concluded:

> There is a relatively invariable hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system, even when it is placed in the context of larger social systems which are otherwise differentiated in important respects. In addition, the fact that the countries compared also have in common the national state and certain needs and values, such as interest in health, apparently also contributes to the observed regularity of the ratings, since both professional and political occupations are foci of agreement. Perhaps the most striking finding is the extent to which the different classes of occupation have been woven together into a single relatively unified occupational structure, more or less common to the six countries.
>
> (Inkeles and Rossi, 1956:339)

Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi (1966:312), in testing the idea that industrialization was responsible for the similarities in occupational prestige, discovered that even among non-industrialized societies the hierarchies are extremely similar. They argue that "gross similarities in occupational prestige hierarchies can be accounted for on the basis of gross uniformities in social structure across societies." In other words, as societies become complex, there are certain occupations which naturally develop--medical personnel, teachers, clergy, policemen, merchants, craftsmen, etc. Because of their somewhat universal nature, these are the occupations most often compared in cross-cultural studies, and it is not surprising that they hold similar positions in different societies. Marsh (1971:222) explains that an occupation has certain role attributes in any society; given

occupations have similar recruitment, role functioning, and rewards across societies, so it naturally follows that they receive similar prestige evaluations.

Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi (1966:320) went on to examine the effect of economic development as perhaps an alternative explanation for these similarities. Although they deemed their evidence inconclusive they did posit that it may not be economic development that leads to the adoption of this common hierarchy but instead just the opposite; it may be that "adoption of an occupational-prestige hierarchy similar to that of industrial nations may be a prerequisite for development, notwithstanding the fact that increased development may in turn induce further similarities in occupational prestige evaluations".

In later years, Treiman (1977:5) seems to have taken a more definite stand for the basic structuralist position. In perhaps the most in-depth study of intersocietal analysis of occupational prestige ever conducted, Treiman establishes that "since the division of labor gives rise to characteristic differences in power, and power begets privilege, and power and privilege beget prestige, there should be a single, worldwide occupational prestige hierarchy."

However, there <u>is not</u> a single prestige hierarchy. Penn's 1975 study shows that some Socialist countries have very different perceptions of the moral worth of occupations. Czechoslavakian and Polish respondents rated "farmer" and "miner" much higher than did U.S. respondents, while government and political occupations received lower rankings. No doubt research will continue in attempts to explain the causes for the similarities and differences which exist worldwide with regard to the perception of occupational prestige.

Summary

There has been a long history of studies of occupational prestige. For over fifty years, sociologists in our society have been conducting popular opinion evaluations of selected occupations and have been obtaining similar results. Generally, people see the same prestige hierarchy--professional occupations to have changed very little over time, for the evaluations obtained in 1925 are very similar to those of 1963. Cross-cultural investigation of prestige scales also produces strong similarities, with the exception of some Socialist countries. Together the evidence suggests that the popular opinion method of measuring occupational prestige is very reliable; repeated application of the method brings the same results time and again.

CHAPTER III

UNDERSTANDING PRESTIGE STUDIES

There can be little doubt that the popular opinion method of evaluating occupational prestige is extremely reliable, but the question arises whether it is valid. A look at the studies which have attempted to understand and explain occupational prestige studies might be useful for establishing or refuting the validity of the popular evaluation. However, it should be remembered that arguing the validity of any attitudinal measure can often prove a futile exercise.

Correlates

By 1964, the main purpose of prestige studies had become: (1) to provide "definitive prestige scores for a more representative sample of occupations" and (2) to uncover "some of the characteristics of occupations that generate their prestige scores." (Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi, 1964:286). Interestingly, there seemed to be a noticeable shift in the research from attempts to evaluate prestige to attempts to understand prestige. The rankings and ratings of occupations so numerous in the past were being replaced by studies attempting to determine exactly what prestige is and how it comes to be assigned.

Obviously, it would be impossible to ever obtain popular evaluations of prestige for the entire list of existing occupations. As Smith (1935:42-43) aptly put it, "...such a task, if persistently attempted, might prove to be excellent means of measuring the limits of complex mental behavior of the human mind and a means of bringing on

a violent neurosis." However, it might prove possible to interpolate scores to unevaluated occupations with the help of research findings concerning the bases of prestige. Although few empirical studies attempted to identify the bases of prestige per se, many did seek to discover its correlates instead. Glenn (1963:649) points out that correlation is not equated with causation, but the variables most highly correlated with measures of prestige are likely to be the most important bases of it.

Brown (1955) found eleven characteristics which contributed to high prestige evaluations given to occupations by a sample of Negro evaluators:

1. The jobs were greatly necessary for the public welfare.
2. Persons within the community who performed the jobs were accorded more than usual respect.
3. The jobs were clean.
4. Extensive education or training was required for entry into the job.
5. In terms of talent and skill, persons who could perform the jobs were rare.
6. Good Salaries were earned.
7. The jobs afforded considerable leisure time for recreation and/or vacation.
8. Persons performing the jobs were accepted as authorities in the community.
9. The occupations had high standings which could be traced back into histroy.
10. Great muscular effort or physical exertion was not required when performing the jobs.
11. The jobs had a religious-moral-altruistic tradition in connection with the social life of the people.

(Brown, 1955:563)

The 1947 NORC study was often used as the basis for studies of correlates. Simpson and Simpson (1960) found that the NORC scale was highly correlated with a training-education-skill and responsibility scale constructed for the same occupations. They suggested that these two characteristics "could be used to form an index of occu-

pational prestige."

Reiss (1961),in examining the NORC scale, noted that those occupations dealing with symbolic tasks are rated higher than those involving physical ones, occupations requiring formal education are rated above those with just training requirements, clean work is favored over dirty work, and office occupations score higher than factory ones.

Garbin and Bates (1961, 1966) have empirically assessed the relationship between occupational prestige and occupational traits. They found coefficients of correlation in excess of 0.80 for eleven of the twenty traits considered. That is, occupations characterized by these traits were evaluated high in prestige:

> "Regarded as desirable to associate with"
> "Intelligence required"
> "Scarcity of personnel who can do the job"
> "Interesting and challenging work"
> "Training required"
> "Education required"
> "Work calls for originality and initiative"
> "Responsibility to supervise others"
> "Having an influence over others"
> "Security"
> "Opportunity for advancement"
>
> (Garbin and Bates, 1966:297)

Still other characteristics may be correlated with prestige. Caplow (1954), for example, maintains that the prestige of an occupation is associated with "behavior control"--that is, the influence an individual who holds that occupation has over others. It would probably follow that those who hold higher prestige jobs have proportionately more subordinates (Marsh, 1971). Theilbar and Feldman (1969) feel that higher prestige occupations are not only associated with power, but also are viewed as being more satisfying.

However, a discussion of the relationship between high status and satisfaction found in Champion (1975:212-215) lends some doubt to this idea. Also, it has been suggested that more prestige is given those jobs which involve problem-solving rather than the mere application of routine solutions (Theilbar and Feldman, 1969).

Mason and Gross (1955), in a study limited to school superintendents, found that salary was the best predictor of prestige. They argue that because raters do not have complete knowledge about all occupations they must rely on "visible factors" instead. This may in part also explain the high correlations Reiss (1961) found between income and education with prestige scores. Unfortunately, none of these efforts have yet conclusively pinpointed and limited the traits which tend to give an occupation high prestige ratings.

Critiques of Prestige Studies

Other researchers have been more specific in addressing the question of the validity of these studies. Gusfield and Schwartz (1963) argue that research findings based upon prestige studies are ambiguous--there is no way to tell which dimension of prestige the respondents are reporting: "(1) the perception of social differentiation, (2) the perception of others, (3) the prestige dimension per se, or (4) the attribution of justice." In other words, it may be that the respondents see some jobs as being better than others--better on the whole, not just in terms of prestige. Or, a respondent may simply be reporting the way society treats occupations, ignoring any personal perceptions. Then again, the respondent may be reporting

the prestige he or she attributes to each of the jobs. Or finally, respondents may be voicing their personal opinions of how the system should be. Therefore, when subjects are simply asked to rank or rate occupations, the researchers do not know just exactly what the findings tell.

It may be that asking for evaluations of an occupation in this manner suffers from other problems. The mention of an occupation might bring to mind a particular individual, and the ratings may be made with regard to that person and not the occupation itself. Along similar lines, Theilbar and Feldbar (1969) found that subjects rate occupations differently than they do the people who hold those occupations. For example, farming was considered degrading, dull, and insecure, yet farmers were said to be kind, generous, and honest. The criteria used for evaluation, then, makes a difference, and researchers can seldom tell which the respondent will use in popular opinion studies.

Goldthorpe and Hope (1972, 1974) have been quite extensive in their criticism of this method: "a measure of occupational prestige is to be regarded as valid to the extent that one may correctly infer from it the chances that a member of an occupational category has of experiencing deference, acceptance, or derogation in his relations with members of other categories" (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974:5). They hold that those scales developed thus far to measure prestige do not meet this criterion. Respondents themselves have suggested that social prestige is not necessarily a factor emphasized during participation in these studies. The NORC study (1947) asked

respondents who had just rated the ninety occupations included in the study: "When you say that certain jobs have excellent standing, what do you think if the one main thing about such jobs that gives this standing?" The most frequently mentioned element was high income, and only fourteen percent of the respondents replied in terms of social prestige (Reiss, 1961). Treiman (1977), however, refuted this as support for the argument against popular opinion studies, suggesting that the answers to this question suffered linguistic problems; he contends that many of the evaluators probably equated "standing" with "prestige" and so felt such a reply unsuitable.

Also lending doubt to the validity of such scales is the extremely high degree of consensus across groups. Social scientists have in the past proven that different groups evidence different values and symbols, and it is difficult to believe that one's status position does not affect one's perception of status (Alexander, 1972). Shoe shiners may give themselves low ratings in studies of "general standing" but this does not necessarily mean that they feel they should be treated derogatorily nor will they necessarily show deference to school teachers, though they may place them above themselves in these studies. Nor will different groups necessarily place the same emphasis on a person's occupation in evaluating his or her social status; occupation is not, afterall, the only source of social honor.

It has been suggested that respondents assess occupations using a variety of objective attributes (income, years of education, fringe benefits, etc.), "which they see relevant to the ordering of occupations simply in terms of some rather specific 'better-worse' dimension"

(Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974:11). Stehr (1974:413) argues that these studies "essentially reproduce and reflect the extent to which a given system of inequality and some of its legitimating antecedents (e.g. differential education) as well as consequences (e.g. differential income) have become transparent in society, i.e. have become communicated and objectified". Studies of this type may not really elicit answers to questions such as "How do I treat this occupational group?" or "How do members of my society treat them?" or even "How should these people be treated?"

Goldthorpe and Hope (1972) contend that these studies measure instead the desirability or goodness of the selected occupations. It seems more feasible that groups should agree on the desirability of certain jobs, even if they do not about the treatment of those who hold certain occupations. In fact, it does not seem unreasonable that some might rate an occupation high in terms of prestige yet feel contempt for the people who hold that position. Gamson and Schuman (1963) found in their analysis of data concerning public opinion of physicians a positive correlation between high prestige scores and indicators of high hostility toward those occupations.

Use of the Method

It is not the purpose of this research to resolve the question whether popular opinion studies actually do measure prestige; that debate may, in fact, be unresolvable. Instead, this discussion is included to exemplify the large number of researchers who have concerned themselves with the study of occupational prestige. It may

very well be that studies carried out along traditional lines--this study included--do not actually measure "prestige." Evaluation obtained through popular opinions may reflect stereotypes of the occupations presented (Theilbar and Feldman, 1969), and the ratings may be in terms of the entire reward system of our society--"financial gain, advantageous working conditions, and honorific value, or 'psychic gain'" (Hatt, 1950:533).

However, scores of this type have been used frequently, perhaps for lack of a better measure of occupational prestige. The practice of using popular evaluations has become well-established in social science research; prestige scores obtained by this method have been used to help establish social position and aid in studies of social status and social mobility. They have been rather useful in placing a person along a vertical axis of society, even though occupation is only one dimension of this axis.

So the popular opinion method should also prove useful for the present study. It helps gain an understanding of the occupational hierarchy of agriculture and the position in our society of the people who hold those occupations. At the same time, the study yields evidence of the similarities and differences in perceptions which various categories of agriculture students possess. Therefore, just as Reiss (1961) cautioned, the term "prestige" used in this research takes a much looser definition than the traditional sociological notion of acceptance, deference, or derogation. Instead, it refers to the more popular usage of "esteem, honor, reputation, eminence, renown, admiration, and acclamation" (Penn, 1975:295) and may, of course, reflect income, education, training, etc.

The study reported here shows how agricultural occupations measure in terms of this notion of prestige.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The data analyzed in this study was obtained in a 1977 survey of undergraduate agriculture majors in the Southern United States entitled "Research in Agricultural Higher Education."[1] The survey was designed to investigate the backgrounds, attitudes, and life goals of students preparing for careers in agriculture. It was hoped that information would be gained about the status of American agriculture and those who planned to join that system.

The Questionnaire

The study was conducted via a rather lengthy mailed questionnaire. The instrument included questions which addressed the topics of social origins, student background information, interpersonal influences, and life preferences. There were also questions intended to assess the respondents' attitudes toward various topics--women pursuing careers in agriculture, women working in general, opportunities for work in agriculture, stereotypes of agriculture majors, and the prestige associated with selected agricultural occupations. It is the last of these upon which this study primarily focused.

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[1] "Research in Agricultural Higher Education" is a research project of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station (TAES H-3141), and contributes to Objective 3 of the USDA-CSRS Regional Research Project S-114, "Defining and Achieving Life Goals: A Process of Human Resource Development." Principal Investigator: Arthur G. Cosby, Texas A&M University.

The Population

The population of students from which the sample for this study was drawn included undergraduate majors at the largest College of Agriculture in each of thirteen Southern states. Texas Tech University was also included because, although it did not have the largest program in that state, it did have a substantial student enrollment in agriculture and because it does play an important role in Southern agricultural education. Therefore, the students included in the sample were among those attending the following:

Auburn University
University of Arkansas
Clemson University
University of Florida
University of Georgia
University of Kentucky
Louisiana State University
Mississippi State University
North Carolina State University
Oklahoma State University
University of Tennessee
Texas A&M University
Texas Tech University
Virginia Polytechnic Institute

It was decided that a sample of three to four thousand students could be adequately surveyed with the resources available. Using the fall, 1976 enrollment figures (Hensley, 1976) as a rough estimate of the spring, 1977 enrollments, the researchers calculated that a fifteen percent sample from each of the participating institutions would yield a sample target sufficient for accurate analysis.

In order to establish the parameters of this population, the Dean of Agriculture at each of the fourteen schools provided a list, including names, and sometimes classification, of undergraduate students who had declared majors within that academic college. This method, of course, resulted in some inconsistencies. First, the College of Agriculture includes different areas of study at different schools; biochemistry majors were included in the study at Texas A&M University, but

not at other institutions. Also, at some schools--University of Florida, for example--students do not declare majors until their third year. So that list included only juniors and seniors, while other schools listed freshmen and sophomores as well. In addition, some lists contained graduate and special students, but whenever possible, these lists were screened and trimmed to leave only undergraduates.

The Sample

There were 22,766 supposedly undergraduate students who had declared majors within the Colleges of Agriculture at these fourteen Southern schools. Using a random number generator, a fifteen percent random sample was chosen from each school to be surveyed--a total of 3,398 students. The breakdown by schools is found in Table 1, page 30.

Of note is the fact that two of the very earliest studies of occupational prestige also included college agriculture students. Counts (1925) interviewed as part of his sample a group of freshmen in the College of Agriculture at the University of Minnesota, and Anderson (1927, 1928, 1929) included students from that academic college at North Carolina State College (now University) in a similar study. A casual examination of both Counts' and Anderson's data suggest that these students did not markedly perceive occupational prestige differently than other evaluators. This observation, plus the assumption that agriculture students probably know more about agricultural occupations, made them appear quite satisfactory as evaluators of the prestige of such occupations.

TABLE 1. Sample Sizes and Return Rates for Participating Schools

	Agriculture School Enrollment (N)	Initial Sample (N)	Adjusted Sample (N)	Returns (N)	Raw Rate (%)	Adjusted Rate (%)
University of Arkansas	691	104	100	83	80	83
Auburn University	1,340	201	193	118	59	61
Clemson University	839	126	118	93	73	78
University of Florida	895	134	118	90	73	76
University of Georgia	1,398	205	193	122	60	63
University of Kentucky	1,295	190	173	133	70	77
Louisiana State University	1,294	193	178	137	71	77
Mississippi State University	1,161	174	164	122	70	74
North Carolina State University	2,538	381	370	284	75	77
Oklahoma State University	1,905	286	275	205	72	74
University of Tennessee	1,422	213	200	146	69	73
Texas A&M University	4,151	625	577	448	72	78
Texas Tech University	1,364	205	203	139	67	68
Virginia Polytechnical Institute	2,473	371	363	272	74	75
TOTAL	22,766	3,398	3,225	2,392	70	74

Data Collection

In the spring of 1977 sample members were mailed questionnaires with cover letters explaining the survey. If a sample member's name had not been accompanied by a mailing address, his or her questionnaire was sent to the Dean of the College of Agriculture with the request that he locate the student and deliver the questionnaire, if possible. The time frame for the survey and delinquent returns was:

Initial Mail-out	--------	March 25, 1977
First Follow-up	--------	April 22, 1977
Second Follow-up	--------	May 5, 1977
Returns closed	--------	June 20, 1977

Of course, some students were simply never located, and so adjustments in the return rate were made accordingly. Additional adjustments were necessary because some who returned the questionnaire were not undergraduate students. Still, 2,392 usable questionnaires were returned, resulting in an overall seventy-four percent rate of return. Table 1 (page 30) contains further information about the returns.

Analytical Procedures

It was these questionnaires which yielded the data used in this thesis. Responses were coded according to previously prepared guidelines, and these values were stored on a computer disk.[2] Of course, the entire data set was not used in the present study, but those variables which were fell into two categories--demographic and attitudinal.

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[2]The responses to the two questions concerning mothers' and fathers' occupations have not yet been coded.

Demographic Variables

The demographic variables, those which helped establish the students' backgrounds and social origins, were operationalized in the following manner:

Sex. The respondents were asked to indicate their genders, either (1) Male or (2) Female.

Major. Respondents were asked to write in their major field(s) or concentration(s) of study. Their answers were coded to fit one of ninety-four categories.

Family Income. The students were asked to approximate their family incomes, marking one of the response categories:

Less then $5,000	25,000 to 34,999
5,000 to 9,999	35,000 to 49,999
10,000 to 14,999	50,000 to 74,999
15,000 to 19,999	75,000 to 99,999
20,000 to 24,999	Over 100,000

Farm Background was determined by respondents' answers to the following questions:

Please indicate the kind of place you have lived most of your life:
A large metropolitan city (over 500,000 in population)
A medium-sized city (50,000 to 500,000 in population)
A smaller city (10,000 to 50,000 in population)
A town or village (under 10,000 in population)
In the country, outside of a city or village
In the country and on a farm or ranch, outside of a city or village

If you have ever lived on a farm or ranch, how many years did you live there?_____

Do your parents own, rent, or lease a farm or ranch?

The respondents were divided into two categories--those with farming background and those without. They were included in the farm category if a response to any of the three questions indicated that they

had lived on a farm or ranch or had come from a family which had access to such property.

Attitudinal Variables

The core of this research centers around a question which solicited evaluations of the "general standing" of sixty selected occupations. It read:

> For each job mentioned, please pick out the statement that best gives your own personal opinion of the general standing that such a job has: 1. Excellent standing (E), 2. Good standing (G), 3. Average standing (A), 4. Somewhat below average standing (Sba), 5. Poor standing (P), or 6. I don't know where to place that one (DK).

The occupations chosen to be evaluated were of basically three types. The first were the agricultural or agriculture-related occupations. They were chosen from a base list compiled from various sources: (1) informal interviews with agriculture students to determine some of the occupations they planned to enter, (2) interviews with professors of agriculture to learn of the occupations their graduates entered, and (3) a literature review, which included the Dictionary of Occupational Titles and the Alphabetical Index of Occupations.

Selection reflected an interest to choose occupations with a reasonably high level of recognition and occupations that would probably span the prestige continuum. Some occupations were chosen because they were similar to ones ranked in the 1947 National Opinion Research Center study, but differed in that they specified the agricultural situs in the job titles. There was also an effort to include a range of commodity and livestock production occupations, e.g., cotton, peanut, soybean,

and rice growers, and tree farmers, as well as cattle, swine, and poultry raisers. The fifty occupations in this category included:

Agricultural Economist
Agricultural Loan Officer in a Bank
Cattle Raiser
Cotton Grower
County Agriculture Agent
County Home Demonstration Agent
Crop Duster
Custom Hay Baler
Dean of a College of Agriculture
Dietician
Ecologist
Farm Implement Salesman
Farm/Ranch Hand
Farm/Ranch Manager
Feed Store Owner
Florist
Fruit Inspector
Groundskeeper
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher
Home Economist
Horse Trainer
Incubator Man
Jockey
Killfloor worker in a Slaughterhouse
Landscape Architect
Migratory Farm Worker
Newspaper Agricultural editor
Peace Corps Member
Peanut Grower
Pest Exterminator
Plant Nursery Owner/Operator
Poultry Raiser
Professor in Agriculture
Restaurant Manager
Rice Grower
Rodeo Cowboy
Rural Sociologist
Sharecropper
Slaughterhouse Manager
Soil Conservationist
Soybean Grower
Swine Raiser
Tenant Farmer
Tree Farmer
Tree Surgeon
U.S.D.A. Researcher
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture
Veterinarian
Wildlife Refuge Manager

The second group of occupations were non-agricultural ones selected from the 1947 NORC study. A systematic random sample was taken from the hierarchy which resulted from that study, thus insuring that the occupations chosen would range the entire prestige continuum. Randomly beginning with the second occupation, every ninth one was selected. The resulting nine were intended to add to the comparability of the present study with the previous one. The non-agricultural common to both were:

Clothes Presser in a Laundry	Nuclear Physicist
Filling Station Attendant	Physician
Government Scientist	Railroad Conductor
Machine Operator in a Factory	Railroad Engineer
	Undertaker

And finally, "housewife" was included because of the recent increased interest of social scientists in that quasi-occupation. These sixty occupations were then randomly ordered to appear in the questionnaire to insure against any possible bias on the part of the researchers.

The students' responses of "general standing" for each of these occupations were used as indicators of the prestige hierarchy of agriculture, as seen by agriculture students. Their failures to rate certain occupations were taken to reflect the esoteric nature of the occupations and/or the respondents' lack of knowledge about that vocation.

Statistical Analysis

One phase of the analysis involved comparing occupational titles included in the present study with very similar or identical ones found in earlier studies. In order to do so, the selected occupations common to a past study and this one were first re-ranked so that the range of rankings went only as high as the number of common occupations; in other words, if there were five occupations common to both studies, they were assigned ranks from one to five, depending, of course, on their original ranks.

The pairs of rankings were then correlated using the Spearman rank-difference correlation coefficient, or Spearman rho. This

statistic was used rather than a Pearson r because of the ordinal-level data found in many of these studies. Though the present study involved prestige scores, which might be assumed interval-level data, most earlier ones reported only ranks of the occupations. However, the use of rho as the correlation coefficient presented no problem for even though it means the sacrifice of additional knowledge at times, the difference between rho and r is usually quite small. The formula used to compute rho is:

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6\Sigma d_i^2}{N^3 - N}$$

where: d_i^2 = the square of the difference in rank

N = the number of common occupations

However, at times there were occupations which tied at a given rank. In these cases, the formula had to be modified somewhat:

$$r_s = \frac{\Sigma x^2 + \Sigma y^2 - \Sigma d^2}{2\sqrt{\Sigma x^2 y^2}}$$

$$\Sigma x^2 = \frac{N^3 - N}{12} - \Sigma T_x$$

$$\Sigma y^2 = \frac{t^3 - t}{12} - \Sigma T y$$

where: $T = \frac{t^3 - t}{12}$

t = number of observations tied at a given rank.
(Siegel, 1956:203-210)

Another part of the analysis was concerned with assessing the effects that farm background, sex, and the interaction of the two might have on perceptions of the prestige hierarchy. Analysis of variance using a 2x2 factorial design proved quite suitable for examining differences in prestige and knowledge scores. It was assumed that an individual score was determined by:

$$X = \mu + \alpha + \beta + \gamma + \varepsilon$$

where: μ is the overall population mean
α is the effect of sex
β is the effect of farm background
γ is the effect of the interaction of the two
ε is the error or unexplained effect
(Blalock, 1972:338)

Linear modeling procedures found in SAS (Barr, et. al., 1976:127) were used to produce F-values with which to assess whether these factors did cause differences; probabilities of obtaining such values by chance alone were also computed. In addition, an R^2 value was produced which indicated the amount of variation explained by the sex, farm background, and the interaction of the two for each of the occupations. In other words,

$$\alpha + \beta + \gamma = r^2$$

Results of these analysis procedures are explained throughout the next two chapters.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESTIGE OF AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

A primary objective of the research was to determine the social status of agricultural occupations using the assessments given by a large group of Southern agriculture students. The analysis of those evaluations was divided into two major parts. The first examined closely the responses of the entire set of students and determined how the prestige structure of agriculture appeared to agriculture students. The second addressed sources of variation in those perceptions of occupational prestige. Sex and farming experience were determined possible factors which might affect evaluations of occupations, so the respondents were divided into four categories in terms of these characteristics--farm females, farm males, non-farm females, and non-farm males. The perceptions of each of these were examined for differences and similarities in their assessments of the selected occupations.

Chapter V reports the results of the first phase of analysis; it deals with the responses of the entire sample. There are essentially four divisions in the chapter: (1) the development of the prestige scale, (2) a comparison of the present study's results with those of past studies, (3) an examination of the agreement or diversity of the student's prestige evaluations, and (4) a look at the non-responses for the different occupations.

The Prestige Scale

The first phase of analysis involved the development of a scale to represent the occupational prestige hierarchy of agriculture. Following procedures similar to those used in the National Opinion Research Center's 1947 study, the respondents' evaluations of "general standing" for each occupation were converted into "prestige scores." Weights were first assigned to each of the response categories: Excellent standing = 100, Good standing = 80, Average standing = 60, Somewhat below average standing = 40, and Poor standing = 20. (The "I don't know" responses were eliminated from this phase of the analysis.) Each of the sixty occupations were then assigned numerical values by averaging weights. These prestige scores were hierarchially arranged to form the prestige scale found in Table 2 (page 40).

The hierarchy which resulted was consistent with those developed in prior studies--professional, scientific, and managerial occupations were rated highest in prestige. Veterinarian ranked first with a score of 92.7, followed by physician, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, and Dean of a College of Agriculture. Also scoring high were nuclear physicist, professor of agriculture, landscape architect, and U.S.D.A. researcher. Interestingly, the only two occupations included in the top ten which even closely resemble the stereotypically traditional agricultural jobs were wildlife refuge manager and farm/ranch manager, ranking ninth and tenth respectively.

The lower end of the hierarchy was also consistent with previous studies; manual laborers held the bottom positions. Migratory

TABLE 2. The Prestige of Agricultural Occupations: Sample of 2,392 Southern Agriculture Students.

Occupation	Prestige Scores	Rank	Standard Deviation
Veterinarian	92.7	1	13.6
Physician*	91.5	2	16.2
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	89.4	3	18.4
Dean of College of Agriculture	86.4	4	18.6
Nuclear Physicist*	85.1	5	21.0
Professor of Agriculture	82.1	6	15.9
Landscape Architect	79.8	7	17.3
USDA Researcher	78.8	8	16.9
Wildlife Refuge Manager	78.0	9	17.9
Farm/Ranch Manager	77.2	10	15.7
Biologist	77.0	11	18.8
Government Scientist*	76.8	12	20.4
Soil Conservationist	75.5	13	16.0
Plant Nursery Owner/Operator	75.3	14	17.1
Cattle Raiser	75.1	15	17.7
Ecologist	74.4	16.5	20.3
County Agricultural Agent	74.4	16.5	16.2
Agricultural Economist	74.3	18	17.5
Agricultural Loan Officer	72.7	19	18.6
Newspaper Agriculture Editor	70.9	20	17.4
Soybean Grower	69.2	21	17.5

TABLE 2. (continued)

Occupation	Prestige Scores	Rank	Standard Deviation
Tree Farmer	69.0	22.5	17.1
Feed Store Owner	69.0	22.5	15.8
Horse Trainer	68.5	24	18.5
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	68.4	25.5	17.8
Cotton Grower	68.4	25.5	18.5
Swine Raiser	66.5	27	18.5
Peanut Grower	65.9	28.5	18.4
Tree Surgeon	65.9	28.5	19.2
Poultry Raiser	65.7	30	17.7
Dietician	65.0	31	19.3
Florist	65.0	32	18.3
Housewife*	64.9	33	22.3
Rural Sociologist	64.5	34	19.8
Fruit Inspector	64.1	35	17.1
Restaurant Manager	64.0	36	17.3
Farm Implement Salesman	63.8	37	16.3
Crop Duster	63.7	38	18.5
Home Economist	63.4	39	17.7
Slaughterhouse Manager	63.0	40	18.5
Peace Corps Member	62.9	41	23.2
County Home Demonstration Agent	62.2	42	18.3

TABLE 2. (continued)

Occupation	Prestige Scores	Rank	Standard Deviation
Rice Grower	62.0	43	21.0
Railroad Engineer	60.5	44	19.6
Jockey	60.0	45	21.6
Pest Exterminator	58.3	46	17.7
Undertaker*	56.6	47	22.9
Incubator Man	55.8	48	17.8
Railroad Conductor*	53.3	49	18.7
Rodeo Cowboy	53.0	50	20.7
Custom Hay Baler	52.6	51	18.9
Farm/Ranch Hand	52.4	52	20.2
Tenant Farmer	47.2	53	19.8
Groundskeeper	47.0	54	18.5
Machine Operator in a Factory	45.5	55	18.8
Sharecropper	43.1	56	20.6
Killfloor Worker in a Slaughterhouse	41.9	57	19.6
Filling Station Attendant*	38.8	58	17.0
Clothes Presser in Laundry*	34.3	59	16.6
Migratory Farm Worker	34.0	60	17.6

*Selected non-agricultural occupations used for reference points to general occupational structure.

farm worker ranked sixtieth, with a score of 34.0, immediately following killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse, filling station attendant, and clothes presser in a laundry. It seems, then, that the sample valued education highly--vocations which required specialized training and a high level of schooling were ranked at the top, and those which involved little formal education or training requirements fell at the lower end. Figure 1 (page 44) presents a graphic depiction of the rankings of the occupations.

Because this was a study of agricultural occupations, special examination of production agriculture jobs proved insightful. Table 3 (page 45) shows that these occupations vary considerably in their prestige scores. First, occupations which clearly stated management or ownership in their job titles received the highest ratings--farm/ranch manager and plant nursery owner/operator. Following were those occupations which implied ownership; interestingly, the commodity specified in the title seemed to affect the rating little. Most received scores toward the middle of the range [soybean grower (69.2), tree farmer (69.0), cotton grower (68.4), swine raiser (66.5), peanut grower (65.9), and poultry raiser (65.7)]. There appeared to be two exceptions, however. Cattle raiser received a higher score (75.1); this may be interpreted to result from the highly romanticized nature of that vocation in our society. Rice grower, on the other hand, was rated slightly lower (62.0), which probably resulted from the fact that the occupation is restricted to a very few localities in the South. Third, there were those occupations which neither stated nor implied ownership, but which implicated instead working for someone

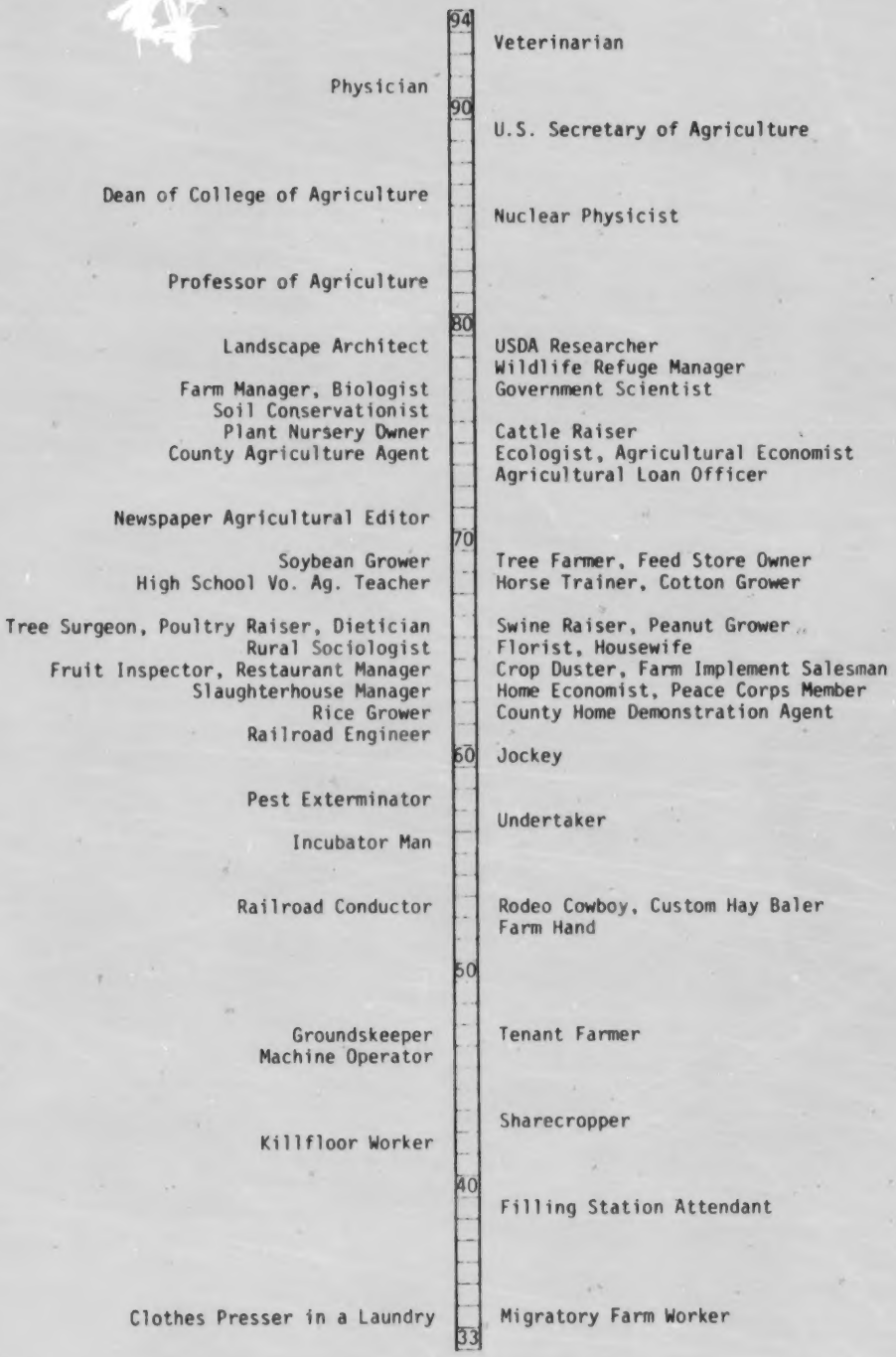

FIGURE 1. The Prestige Hierarchy of Agricultural Occupations.

TABLE 3. Groupings of Production Agricultural Occupations and Their Prestige Scores.

Animal Production		Plant/Crop Production		Work Classification	
Cattle Raiser	(75.1)	Plant Nursery Owner/Operator	(75.3)	Farm/ranch manager	(77.2)
Swine Raiser	(66.5)	Soybean Grower	(69.2)	Farm/ranch hand	(52.4)
Poultry Raiser	(65.7)	Tree Farmer	(69.0)	Tenant Farmer	(47.2)
		Cotton Grower	(68.4)	Sharecropper	(43.1)
		Peanut Grower	(65.9)	Migratory Farm Laborer	(34.0)
		Rice Grower	(62.0)		

else; they were given the lowest ratings. Farm/ranch hand, tenant farmer, sharecropper, and migratory farm laborer all received scores much lower than the other production agriculture jobs. It seems, then, that the ranking of these production agriculture occupations may be in keeping with Wright and Perrone's (1977) extension of the basic Marxist typology of class, which distinguishes employers, managers, petty bourgeoise, and workers. The authors point out that in our capitalist society the ownership of means of production and the control of the labor of others are both valued highly--thus, higher scores for job titles which state one of these qualities. Often, however, it is difficult to distinguish the capitalists (employers and managers) from the petty bourgeoise, and so we might explain the similar yet slightly lower scores of those occupations which neither state ownership nor management, but, in addition, do not specifically suggest employment by another. However, workers seem to have been readily identified as neither controllers of property nor of others' labor and therefore received rather low prestige scores. So, ownership of the means of production and/or the control of the labor of others may very well have been an important factor in determining the prestige of many agricultural occupations.

Comparability of Rankings with Past Studies

In order to examine the credibility of the agricultural prestige scale, it was useful to compare those ratings with evaluations obtained in prior research. An examination of past studies revealed many occupations comparable to the ones included in the present.

The rankings of those job titles were correlated with the rankings given by the agriculture students,[1] and Table 4 (page 48) shows the resulting correlation coefficients. Because the numbers of occupations varied with each study, the comparable occupations were ranked relative to each other; in other words, ten occupations out of forty-five might be comparable, and although the ten originally had ranks ranging from, say, three to forty, they were re-ranked to range from one to ten.

Spearman rank-difference correlation coefficients (rho) were computed for each contrast. Coefficients were found to range from 0.83 to 1.00. Although the number of comparable occupations was small in many instances, even the studies with larger numbers produced high correlations. In fact, the two studies most comparable--the 1947 NORC study and the 1964 Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi study--yielded high correlations, 0.92 and 0.97 respectively. These two studies not only employed the same rating scheme as the present study, they included many occupations with exact same titles as well. Therefore, differences in method cannot be used as an explanation for the resulting similarities. These two studies also used national samples of respondents, which lends further credibility to the agricultural prestige scale. In fact, the finding of such overall agreement might be used to argue the generalizability of this hierarchy.[2]

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[1] Detailed information about these correlations is found in Appendix A.

[2] The question of generalizing this scale to the NORC scale, and so the Duncan Socioeconomic Scale is, at this writing, being addressed by Dr. Evens Curry, Texas Tech University.

TABLE 4. Spearman Correlation Coefficients--Past Prestige Studies with 1977 Agricultural Occupations Study.

Past Studies		# of comparable occupations	Correlation Coefficient r_s
1925, Counts		8	.83
1927, Anderson		7	.96
1934, Hartmann	a	5	.90
	b	5	.90
	c	3	1.00
1935, Nietz	a	8	.88
	b	8	.91
	c	8	.83
1936, Coutu	a	3	1.00
	b	3	1.00
	c	3	1.00
1941, Ruch		7	.86
1943, Smith		12	.90
1946, Byers		6	1.00
1947, NORC		20	.92
1948, Baudler and Patterson		5	1.00
1949, Welch		3	1.00
1951, Richey, Fox and Fauset		3	1.00
1955, Brown		13	.88
1964, Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi		20	.97

Agreement

Although the sample of agriculture students as a whole seemed to agree with other samples on the prestige of certain occupations, the investigation went on to assess how much agreement there was within the group itself with regard to their perceptions of the sixty occupations. Examining the respondents' agreement was believed to be useful in identifying which occupations have rather well-established places in our society and which vocations are of somewhat questionable status.

As Table 2 (page 40) shows, the standard deviations, which resulted from the computation of the prestige scores, give some indication of the variability in the ratings. Veterinarian, farm/ranch manager, and feed store owner received very similar prestige ratings. However, the status of jobs such as Peace Corps member, undertaker, and housewife seemed more questionable, having received more varied ratings.

Additional information on intra-sampled agreement of ratings for each occupation (ratings of excellent, good, etc.) was obtained by examining the percent distribution of responses. Table 5 (page 50) gives the percentage of students who responded in each of the given manners.[3] Veterinarian received a great many "excellent" responses and very few "poor" ones, and so had a very small standard deviation. It was interesting to note that professor in agriculture had a smaller standard deviation than did physician, despite the fact that there were more responses in the modal category for physician than for professor

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[3]Those who failed to answer the question or to rate a particular occupation were eliminated from this analysis, as were those who responded "I don't know." It should be noted, then, that the base number for computing percentage varied from occupation to occupation.

TABLE 5. Percentage of Respondents Who Rated Occupations in Given Manner

Occupation	Excellent	Good	Average	Somewhat Below Average	Poor
Veterinarian	72.5 %	20.9 %	5.0 %	1.1 %	0.5 %
Physician*	71.1	20.4	5.2	1.5	1.8
U. S. Secretary of Agriculture	66.8	20.7	7.4	2.7	2.4
Dean of Agriculture	54.2	30.9	10.2	2.3	2.5
Nuclear Physicist*	55.0	27.5	9.7	3.6	4.2
Professor in Agriculture	32.4	49.4	15.4	1.8	1.0
Landscape Architect	29.0	47.2	19.1	3.3	1.5
USDA Researcher	26.2	47.3	22.3	2.9	1.3
Wildlife Refuge Manager	27.2	42.7	23.9	5.2	1.0
Farm/Ranch Manager	21.1	47.5	28.2	2.9	0.3
Biologist	25.0	45.0	22.8	4.2	2.9
Government Scientist*	28.3	40.3	22.1	5.6	3.7
Soil Conservationist	17.5	47.4	31.4	2.5	1.1
Plant Nursery Owner/ Operator	20.1	42.3	32.6	3.7	1.3
Cattle Raiser	20.7	41.9	30.9	5.1	1.4
Ecologist	24.2	37.2	28.1	6.5	3.6
County Agriculture Agent	16.0	45.8	33.6	3.5	1.1
Agricultural Economist	16.5	47.7	28.9	4.7	2.3
Agricultural Loan Officer	16.3	43.6	30.9	6.2	3.1

TABLE 5. (continued)

Occupation	Excellent	Good	Average	Somewhat Below Average	Poor
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	10.8 %	44.7 %	35.2 %	6.6 %	2.7 %
Soybean Grower	11.8	34.0	44.7	7.2	2.3
Tree Farmer	10.8	34.9	45.0	7.3	2.0
Feed Store Owner	8.2	38.3	44.7	7.8	0.9
Horse Trainer	12.6	32.7	41.4	10.8	2.4
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	11.2	33.5	43.9	9.2	2.3
Cotton Grower	11.8	34.5	40.6	10.2	2.9
Swine Raiser	9.8	30.7	45.5	10.1	3.9
Peanut Grower	9.4	28.9	48.5	8.2	4.7
Tree Surgeon	10.3	30.6	41.1	14.4	3.6
Poultry Raiser	8.0	29.9	48.1	10.5	3.5
Dietician	9.3	29.2	47.1	11.1	5.4
Florist	8.0	29.2	47.1	11.3	4.4
Housewife*	14.7	22.8	39.7	10.6	9.2
Rural Sociologist	7.6	33.1	40.5	12.0	6.8
Fruit Inspector	6.0	28.0	49.7	13.1	3.1
Restaurant Manager	4.7	28.0	49.7	13.1	3.1
Farm Implement Salesman	4.9	26.9	53.7	11.5	4.6
Crop Duster	7.1	28.2	45.0	15.4	4.3
Home Economist	5.5	28.0	49.3	12.5	4.7

TABLE 5. (continued)

Occupation	Excellent	Good	Average	Somewhat Below Average	Poor
Slaughterhouse Manager	4.7 %	31.1 %	45.2 %	12.8 %	6.3%
Peace Corps Member	12.7	38.4	28.9	20.7	9.3
County Home Demonstration Agent	5.6	25.8	47.9	15.5	5.2
Rice Grower	8.6	26.4	39.4	17.4	8.2
Railroad Engineer*	5.9	24.7	42.7	19.7	7.1
Jockey	8.2	23.7	37.7	20.4	10.0
Pest Exterminator	3.5	18.1	51.8	19.7	6.9
Undertaker	7.2	20.1	37.6	18.6	16.5
Incubator Man	3.0	14.8	47.7	27.1	7.4
Railroad Conductor*	2.8	12.6	44.2	29.0	11.4
Rodeo Cowboy	5.0	13.8	36.0	31.7	13.5
Custom Hay Baler	3.1	11.9	41.9	31.4	11.8
Farm/Ranch Hand	4.7	12.4	35.8	34.3	12.8
Tenant Farmer	2.0	10.1	31.6	34.8	21.5
Groundskeeper	2.1	7.1	32.4	40.4	18.0
Machine Operator in a factory	1.4	6.6	33.6	35.2	23.3
Sharecropper	2.2	8.1	24.4	33.7	31.5
Killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse	1.8	5.3	26.4	33.6	32.9
Filling Station Attendant*	1.0	2.4	20.1	42.7	33.9

TABLE 5. (continued)

Occupation	Excellent	Good	Average	Somewhat Below Average	Poor
Clothes Presser in a Laundry	1.0 %	2.0 %	12.4 %	36.8 %	47.8 %
Migratory Farm Worker	1.1	2.9	12.8	31.4	52.1
Average	15.2 %	28.1 %	33.9 %	14.5 %	8.4 %

*Selected non-agricultural occupations used for reference points to general occupational structure.

(71.7 as opposed to 49.4). This was because the standard deviation "describes the distance on the measurement scale by which the typical group member differs from the mean" (Schmidt, 1975). Because the mean for physician was higher than that of professor of agriculture, the "poor" and "somewhat below average" ratings affected the standard deviation of the physician more than that of the professor, even though each received similar percentages in those categories.

With few exceptions, the occupations at the extremes of the hierarchy had the most well-established social status positions. The majority of the occupations, received "average" ratings with similar standard deviations. There were, however, several occupations with large standard deviations. The lack of agreement in the rating of Peace Corps member may reflect the differences in the evaluators' humanistic orientations--students with strong feelings of this type would rate it high, and those not so oriented, low. The large amount of variation in the ratings of housewife may be due to the ambiguity of the job title as well as changing attitudes toward the occupation in our society. The term "housewife" does not bring to mind a specific prestige-related stereotype, and so may conjure up images that range from a community-active socialite who hires servants to do her chores to a poor mother of ten who washes clothes by hand and hangs them on a line to dry. Other occupations may have large standard deviations simply because they are esoteric, vague, or even controversial in nature--undertaker, rice grower, sharecropper, government scientist, or ecologist.

Lack of Knowledge and Non-Response

So far the analysis has dealt only with those students who rated the occupations; this phase looks at those who failed to do so. There were two types of non-ratings--a response of "Idon't know where to place that one" and a simple failure to respond at all.

"Don't Know's"

As Reiss (1961:12) noted, the percentage of those who gave "I don't know" responses to a particular occupational title may be "an indicator of the lack of knowledge of an occupation itself, its 'general standing' in the community or society, or both of these factors." So by examining these responses, it may be possible to assess the extent to which information about these jobs and their social status has been disseminated among agriculture students. Although there was no way to identify the cause for the "don't know" response, it was still useful to identify occupations which were difficult for the students to evaluate in terms of general standing.

Table 6 (page 56) presents the percentage of the total population who responded "I don't know" for each occupation. These percentages ranged from 0.04 for veterinarian to 20.3 for incubator man. Other occupations which received a high average percentage of "don't know" responses were rice grower, jockey, county home demonstration agent, and custom haybaler. Conversely, those with rather low average percentages were professor of agriculture, physician, and feed store owner.

TABLE 6 . Percentage of Total Sample Who Failed to Rate Each Occupation.

Occupation	Responded "I don't know"	No Response
Veterinarian	0.4 %	2.1 %
Physician	0.6	2.0
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	2.0	2.0
Dean of College of Agriculture	1.8	2.4
Nuclear Physicist	1.9	5.1*
Professor of Agriculture	0.5	5.1*
Landscape Architect	1.0	5.2*
USDA Researcher	1.3	5.5*
Wildlife Refuge Manager	1.0	2.0
Farm/Ranch Manager	1.1	2.2
Biologist	2.0	2.3
Government Scientist	3.0	2.4
Soil Conservationist	1.3	2.5
Plant Nursery Owner/Operator	2.2	2.1
Cattle Raiser	0.9	2.0
Ecologist	2.3	2.1
County Agricultural Agent	1.8	2.6
Agricultural Economist	2.0	2.1
Agricultural Loan Officer	4.6	2.6
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	2.4	4.9*

TABLE 6. (continued)

Occupation	Responded "I don't know"	No Response
Soybean Grower	1.9 %	5.0* %
Tree Farmer	2.7	5.1*
Feed Store Owner	0.8	4.8*
Horse Trainer	2.3	5.1*
High School Vocational Agricultural Teacher	1.8	2.3
Cotton Grower	2.8	2.3
Swine Raiser	2.6	5.0*
Peanut Grower	3.0	5.1*
Tree Surgeon	5.9	2.1
Poultry Raiser	2.6	2.3
Dietician	4.0	1.9
Florist	2.0	2.0
Housewife	6.1	5.4*
Rural Sociologist	6.9	2.2
Fruit Inspector	3.6	2.0
Restaurant Manager	1.4	5.1*
Farm Implement Salesman	2.7	5.0*
Crop Duster	3.6	5.2*
Home Economist	4.5	2.0
Slaughterhouse Manager	3.6	5.2*
Peace Corps Member	6.2	2.4
County Home Demonstration Agent	8.0	2.3

TABLE 6. (continued)

Occupation	Responded "I don't know"	No Response
Rice Grower	11.6 %	2.4 %
Railroad Engineer	4.6	2.1
Jockey	8.3	2.3
Pest Exterminator	2.1	5.3*
Undertaker	7.7	2.4
Incubator Man	20.3	2.8
Railroad Conductor	6.3	2.0
Rodeo Cowboy	4.1	5.2*
Custom Hay Baler	7.6	5.2*
Farm/Ranch Hand	1.5	2.1
Tenant Farmer	4.3	5.2*
Groundskeeper	4.2	5.2*
Machine Operator in a Factory	2.8	2.2
Sharecropper	4.7	2.5
Killfloor Worker in a Slaughterhouse	6.5	5.3*
Filling Station Attendant	2.1	5.2*
Clothes Presser in a Laundry	4.6	5.5*
Migratory Farm Worker	4.2	5.2*

*Indicates higher percentage probably caused by incompletion of questionnaire.

It had been expected that the respondents would have the least trouble rating the occupations at the extremes of the hierarchy. However, it was found that most of the occupations at the lower end of the hierarchy received an average or above-average percentage of "don't know" responses. This may help substantiate Alexander's (1972) argument that it is more difficult for those at the upper end of the hierarchy to differentiate those twoard the bottom, and vice versa; since these are college students many of them are probably from upper or middle class families.

Reiss (1961) found that education affects knowledge of occupations and, so, ability to evaluate them. In keeping with this finding, the respondents in this study (college educated) were expected to give a rather small proportion of "don't know" responses, on the average. However, the average percentage in this study was 3.7, only slightly less than the four percent given by the 1947 NORC study respondents, who spanned the range of educational backgrounds. In addition, Reiss (1961) found only six occupations in that study to which the college-educated group gave an average more than four percent "don't know" response; in the study reported here the number of similar occupations was twenty-two. Of course, this difference between studies is probably best explained by the specific agricultural nature of many of these occupations and by the number of students with little or no farming experience who participated in the present study.

Non-response

The question arose whether students who did not know how to rate an occupation simply did not respond for that job title. Table 6 (page 56) presents the data with which to address the topic of non-response. But in order to continue the analysis, a methodological problem of the study must first be explained.

As noted earlier, the question involving the rating of these sixty occupations was included in a mailed survey and was, in fact, the last question of a rather lengthy questionnaire. The question itself filled almost two entire pages--the back cover of the questionnaire; so, twenty-five occupational titles were located on the back outside cover. Unfortunately, a small number of students apparently failed to turn the page and complete the questionnaire.

Actually, the percentages of non-response were fairly consistent, although first glance at the tables seems quite the contrary. For the thirty-five job titles on the inside back cover, the average non-response was 2.2 percent, ranging from 1.9 to 2.8; for the other twenty-five, the range was from 4.8 to 5.4 percent with an average of 5.2. It appears, then, that an average of three to four percent of the sample failed to complete the questionnaire. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that very few students simply did not respond if they did not know how to rate an occupation; most of the non-responses appear to be due to the people who did not respond to the question at all. The small differences which do occur may be caused by either students not responding or by their mismarking the questionnaire, putting their response on the wrong line, resulting in a multiple

response for one occupation and a non-response for the other, both which were coded as missing information.

On the average, then, the number of students who failed to rate the occupations was small. In fact, the number of respondents lost for each occupation is small--combining the "don't know" responses with those who simply failed to answer the question or responded in some unacceptable manner averages to only 7.2 percent.

Summary of Prestige Scale Development

It was found that agriculture students can readily rate agricultural occupations and do so in much the same manner that others have evaluated the general occupational hierarchy--professional, managerial, and scientific occupations received the highest scores, and manual labor, the lowest. Not only specialized training or education, but ownership of production as well, seem to be important in determining the prestige of agricultural occupations.

Analysis of the evaluations of these occupations resulted in several findings. First, the prestige hierarchy developed for agricultural occupations was quite comparable to those resulting from past studies. The correlation coefficients were quite high for those studies which employed national samples; although the scores were not the same, the prestige hierarchy maintained itself. This led to the conclusion that the sample of agriculture students were not much different from other respondents, and the prestige hierarchy of agriculture was similar to the general hierarchy.

Analysis also revealed that there was a considerable degree of

variability in certainty of ranks. The occupations at the top and bottom of the hierarchy received ratings less diverse than others. The second analysis chapter, immediately following, addresses the topic of sources of variation in these ratings.

CHAPTER VI

DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS OF AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

This chapter reports the findings from analysis which sought to discover whether different socialization and different experiences might have been responsible for divergent perceptions of the occupational prestige hierarchy of agriculture. Two factors were chosen to address such a research topic--sex and farm background. The reasons for selecting these factors were numerous. First, it is along these two lines that Colleges of Agriculture have experienced much change; these Colleges, which were apparently once composed almost entirely of young men from rural and farm areas, have through the years been augmented by a substantial number of women and urban students (Hensley, 1976; Maeroff, 1976). In fact, the 1977 survey of Southern agriculture students revealed that almost twenty-eight percent of them were women, and that thirty-five percent had lived most of their lives in cities over 50,000 in population. Second, it was believed that sex-role stereotypes might be reflected in perceptions of occupational prestige. Because professional agriculture has been an occupational domain almost exclusively for men, women have probably received little information about such occupations in their socialization processes, and so may have different perceptions of the hierarchy. The same argument could also be used to explain expected differences caused by urban backgrounds which are void of any farming experience. This chapter looks at the effects that these two factors, as well as their interaction, had on the prestige ratings of the occupations

and on the students' knowledge of those jobs and their social standings.

Division of the Sample

In order to examine differing perceptions of the occupational prestige hierarchy, the sample of respondents was divided into four categories. As noted in Chapter IV, the sample was first dichotomized according to sex and then divided again into those with farming backgrounds and those without. This meant there were 239 farm females, 944 farm males, 436 non-farm females, and 771 non-farm males. So, there were nearly the same number of students without farm backgrounds as there were with. In addition, there were more men with farming experience than there were without, but for the women it was just the opposite--women who had no farm experience were almost double in number to those who did.

Differences in Prestige Ratings

In order to assess differences in the perception of the agricultural prestige hierarchy, prestige scores were recalculated for the sixty occupations using the evaluations of those within each category. This computation followed those same procedures explained in Chapter V (page 38). The average score given by each grouping--farm females, 66.5; farm males, 65.6; non-farm females, 66.1; and non-farm males, 64.6--showed that the evaluations within the different categories were quite similar overall. However, a look at the specific occupations may point to patterns where sex, farm background, or the interaction of the two make significant differences in prestige ratings.

Differences by Sex

One of the basic assumptions of this study was that the sex of the respondent would affect his or her knowledge of, and experience with, different occupations, and, so, would cause different prestige ratings of those jobs. Several studies in the past have concluded that sex had little effect on overall prestige scores (Baudler and Patterson, 1948; Welch, 1949; Reiss, 1961; Stefflre, et. al., 1968); however, Reiss did find that women tended to give significantly higher ratings to educational occupations, social work, positions associated with the arts and religion, and protective service occupations (Taylor, 1968:175).

It was also believed that different access to specific jobs by certain groups would affect their ratings. On one hand, women might give higher ratings to jobs which had traditionally been held by women, such as dietician or home economist. However, because this sample was composed of college women, many or most of whom were probably career-minded, those occupations which have only recently seen the entrance of large numbers of women into their ranks, such as veterinarian or physician, may be rated higher. The present research sought to discover if any of these contentions were substantiated by the evaluations of agricultural occupations by agriculture students.

The data found in Table 7 (page 66) was used to address these questions about the differences in ratings associated with sex. Included in this table are the prestige scores, rounded to the nearest whole

TABLE 7. Analysis of Variance in Prestige Scores by Sex, Farm Background, and the Interaction of the Two

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Veterinarian	95	92	95	91	30.41*	0.74	0.68	.01*
Physician	93	90	95	91	19.19*	5.91	0.21	.01*
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	90	88	91	90	5.19	1.73	0.16	.01
Dean of College of Agriculture	88	86	86	87	0.26	0.06	1.61	.01
Nuclear Physicist	89	82	91	85	43.39*	6.08*	0.09	.03*
Professor in Agriculture	83	82	82	82	1.25	0.79	0.26	.01
Landscape Architect	83	76	84	80	42.37*	9.98*	2.99	.03*
USDA Researcher	83	76	84	78	53.44*	3.27	0.04	.03*
Wildlife Refuge Manager	80	75	81	79	16.27*	10.15*	3.86	.02*
Farm/Ranch Manager	77	80	76	74	0.11	22.35*	12.30*	.03*
Biologist	80	72	82	79	46.22*	28.11*	5.14	.05*
Government Scientist	78	73	83	78	24.09*	26.09*	0.09	.03*

TABLE 7. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Soil Conservationist	76	75	78	75	10.97*	2.34	0.97	.01*
Plant Nursery Owner and Operator	78	74	77	75	14.83*	0.09	3.40	.01*
Cattle Raiser	76	77	75	72	0.16	15.40*	5.23	.02*
Ecologist	78	68	82	77	65.50*	49.82*	7.24*	.08*
County Agricultural Agent	75	74	76	74	2.83	0.00	0.48	>.01
Agricultural Economist	75	74	76	73	3.95	0.00	1.17	>.01
Agricultural Loan Officer in Bank	73	75	70	71	1.38	15.81*	0.65	.02*
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	73	71	73	69	11.29*	0.51	1.83	.01*
Soybean Grower	68	73	67	67	9.84*	16.74*	6.91*	.03*
Tree Farmer	69	68	70	70	1.20	3.34	0.64	>.01
Feed Store Owner	69	72	66	67	12.66*	32.74*	2.70	.03*
Horse Trainer	75	67	75	65	99.31*	2.45	0.95	.05*

TABLE 7. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	68	70	68	67	1.08	3.58	4.90	.01*
Cotton Grower	67	72	65	66	14.04*	23.14*	4.23	.03*
Swine Raiser	67	70	64	63	1.83	31.76*	3.76	.03*
Peanut Grower	64	68	64	65	6.42*	4.36	2.73	.01*
Tree Surgeon	69	64	69	66	18.06*	1.92	1.64	.01*
Poultry Raiser	66	67	66	64	0.95	1.86	2.17	.01
Dietician	71	63	71	64	68.54*	0.98	0.04	.03*
Florist	68	63	69	64	30.21*	0.77	0.11	.02*
Housewife	60	67	64	64	9.90*	0.00	9.98*	.01*
Rural Sociologist	68	61	70	65	37.71*	9.59*	1.45	.03*
Fruit Inspector	65	64	66	64	4.10	0.19	0.32	.01
Restaurant Manager	64	64	64	64	0.00	0.02	0.24	.01
Farm Implement Salesman	63	67	62	62	4.60	20.12*	5.11	.02*

TABLE 7. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Crop Duster	61	68	58	63	38.15*	19.51*	0.48	.04*
Home Economist	65	64	65	62	4.47	0.50	1.03	.00
Slaughterhouse Manager	61	67	58	61	27.89*	27.11*	2.38	.04*
Peace Corps Member	66	57	71	65	44.43*	32.84*	1.48	.05*
County Home Demonstration Agent	66	63	62	61	5.27	9.68*	0.86	.01*
Rice Grower	60	65	59	61	8.48*	5.53	0.82	.01
Railroad Engineer	62	60	63	60	7.51*	0.02	0.01	.01
Jockey	65	58	65	58	45.42*	0.00	0.05	.02
Pest Exterminator	59	59	57	58	0.37	3.53	0.38	.01
Undertaker	55	57	57	56	0.13	0.03	1.51	.01
Incubator Man	57	56	57	55	1.79	0.14	0.01	.01
Railroad Conductor	56	54	55	52	8.03*	0.47	0.01	.01
Rodeo Cowboy	54	54	52	53	0.05	4.02	0.39	.01

TABLE 7. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Custom Hay Baler	52	57	48	50	13.43*	38.51*	3.52	.04*
Farm/Ranch Hand	56	54	53	50	7.15*	11.47*	0.45	.01*
Tenant Farmer	46	51	43	46	19.00*	18.08*	1.16	.03*
Groundkeeper	46	46	49	47	2.14	5.34	0.76	.01
Machine Operator in a Factory	44	47	44	46	5.69	0.66	0.11	.01
Sharecropper	43	46	40	41	3.20	17.53*	1.85	.02*
Killfloor Worker in a slaughterhouse	42	46	37	40	8.81*	29.15*	0.37	.03*
Filling Station Attendent	39	40	38	38	0.57	3.67	0.00	.01
Clothes Presser in a Laundry	33	35	32	35	7.50*	1.08	0.00	.01
Migratory Farm Worker	36	34	33	33	0.24	4.15	0.59	.01

*Significant at the .01 level of probability

number, given by each of the aggregates for the sixty occupations. Also reported are the F-values which resulted from an analysis of variance using a 2x2 factorial design, as well as the explained variation (R^2).

Looking at the F-values for the variable "sex", it is apparent that gender of the respondent did affect the average ratings for many of the occupations; a number of jobs were found, statistically, to be significantly different at the .01 level. There were several occupations which were rated higher by women than by men: veterinarian, physician, nuclear physicist, landscape architect, U.S.D.A. researcher, wildlife refuge manager, biologist, government scientist, soil conservationist, plant nursery owner/operator, ecologist, newspaper agricultural editor, horse trainer, tree surgeon, dietician, florist, rural sociologist, Peace Corps member, railroad engineer, jockey, and railroad conductor. On the other hand, men rated higher: soybean grower, feed store owner, cotton grower, peanut grower, housewife, crop duster, slaughterhouse manager, rice grower, custom hay baler, farm/ranch hand, tenant farmer, killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse, and clothes presser in a laundry. It was discovered, then, that the women in the study had a tendency to evaluate higher most of those occupations which were more scientific, aesthetic, and humanistic in nature. In contrast, the men in the study rated production and production-related type jobs higher than did women.

However, it was realized that an examination of prestige scores alone might be somewhat deceiving because identical numerical values could actually represent quite different places on the hierarchy for

the groups. For instance, a score of 84 could be second in rank on one group's hierarchy and twelfth on the other's. It seemed, then, that a look at the ranks of these occupations might prove useful for evaluating differences in perceptions of the hierarchy associated with sex; Table 8 (page 73) presents the scores and rankings given by the men and women for each occupation. Using the criterion Reiss (1961) used in his analysis of the 1947 NORC data--a difference of nine or more ranks--revealed no significant differences in perception which had not already been found to be so by comparing these scores. But there were two instances where ranks differed considerably, though not by nine ranks: farm manager was ranked eighth by the men, but fifteenth by the women; and swine raiser held the 26th position on the men's hierarchy, but tied for the 34th on the women's. These findings re-emphasize the fact that the men in agriculture tended to regard the traditional production occupations more highly than did the women.

Of note is the observation that the propensity for an occupation to be held by women did not seem to greatly affect the ratings of those jobs by the female respondents. They rated dietician and florist somewhat higher than did males, but housewife and clothes presser in a laundry were rated higher by men; home economist and county home demonstration agent received similar scores and rankings from both groups.

So, it appeared that the sex of the respondent did affect perceptions of the occupational prestige to some small degree. It should be remembered, however, that the statistical test used was

TABLE 8. Sex and the Differences in Prestige of Agricultural Occupations

Occupation	Female		Male	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
Veterinarian	95.2	1	91.8	1
Physician	94.1	2	90.5	2
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	91.0	3	88.8	3
Dean of College of Agriculture	86.5	5	86.3	4
Nuclear Physicist	90.2	4	83.1	5
Professor in Agriculture	82.6	8	81.9	6
Landscape Architect	83.8	6	78.1	7
USDA Researcher	83.8	7	77.9	9
Wildlife Refuge Manager	80.7	11	76.9	10
Farm/Ranch Manager	76.7	15	77.4	8
Biologist	81.8	9	75.1	12
Government Scientist	81.0	10	75.1	12
Soil Conservationist	77.6	13	74.7	14
Plant Nursery Owner/ Operator	77.4	14	74.4	15
Cattle Raiser	75.0	18	75.1	12
Ecologist	80.6	12	72.0	19
County Agricultural Agent	75.4	17	74.0	16
Agricultural Economist	75.5	16	73.8	17
Agricultural Loan Officer in a Bank	71.5	21	73.2	18
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	72.9	20	73.2	18

TABLE 8. (continued)

Occupation	Female		Male	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
Soybean Grower	66.9	29	70.0	21.5
Tree Farmer	69.9	23	68.7	24.5
Feed Store Owner	66.6	30	70.0	21.5
Horse Trainer	74.6	19	66.0	28
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	67.7	28	78.7	24.5
Cotton Grower	65.5	32	69.5	23
Swine Raiser	65.0	34.5	67.0	26
Peanut Grower	64.1	37	66.7	27
Tree Surgeon	68.9	26	64.7	32
Poultry Raiser	66.2	31	65.5	30
Dietician	71.1	22	63.4	38
Florist	68.5	27	63.6	36.5
Housewife	62.7	40	65.8	29
Rural Sociologist	69.1	24	62.7	41
Fruit Inspector	65.4	33	63.6	36.5
Restaurant Manager	64.0	38	64.0	35
Farm Implement Salesman	62.2	42	64.5	33.5
Crop Duster	59.1	44	65.4	31
Home Economist	64.7	36	62.0	40
Slaughterhouse Manager	59.0	45	64.5	33.5
Peace Corps Member	69.0	25	60.4	43

TABLE 8. (continued)

Occupation	Female		Male	
	Female	Rank	Female	Rank
County Home Demonstration Agent	63.2	39	61.8	42
Rice Grower	59.4	43	63.0	39
Railroad Engineer	62.4	41	59.8	44
Jockey	65.0	34.5	57.9	46
Pest Exterminator	57.7	46	58.6	45
Undertaker	56.4	48	56.6	47
Incubator Man	56.7	47	55.4	48
Railroad Conductor	55.0	49	42.6	51
Rodeo Cowboy	52.5	51	53.2	50
Custom Hay Baler	49.3	52	53.8	49
Farm/Ranch Hand	53.8	50	51.8	52
Tenant Farmer	43.7	54	48.6	53
Groundskeeper	48.3	53	46.4	54
Machine Operator in a Factory	43.9	55	46.1	55
Sharecropper	41.3	56	43.8	56
Killfloor Worker in a Slaughterhouse	39.0	57	42.9	57
Filling Station Attendant	38.1	58	39.1	58
Clothes Presser in a Laundry	32.5	60	35.0	59
Migratory Farm Worker	34.0	59	33.9	60

was highly sensitive, given the large sample size, and, consequently, detected very small differences. In fact, the largest span between any two scores is 8.6. In other words, the differences associated with sex were real, but they were rather small in size.

Differences by Farm Background

The second contention of this study was that ratings of the occupations included in this study would vary with farming experience. Because knowledge and perception of the prestige hierarchy may be grounded in the direct and indirect interaction people have with incumbents of each occupation (Kreisberg, 1962), those students with farm backgrounds may have quite different perceptions of the agricultural occupations included in this study. Students from urban areas may simply not know what the social status associated with many of these occupations is, or they may perceive the hierarchy in an entirely different manner simply because they have never been exposed to many of these occupations and the work, requirements, etc. that they entail. However, Garbin and Bates (1966:302) feel that this actually makes very little difference in prestige perceptions:

> ...differential experience affects occupational attitudinal formation only to a limited extent. More importantly, it is believed that certain stereotyped prestige and occupational trait conceptions transcend the various occupational and social class segments of society and markedly influence the formation of attitudes. It is suggested that the public school system, the mass media, and direct or indirect interaction with practitioners of various occupations afford the individual many opportunities to perceive the evaluations of occupations in terms of prestige and various work attributes.

This section of the analysis seeks to reveal whether farming experience

affected the ratings of agricultural occupations.

As explained in Chapter IV (page 27) those students who had ever lived on a farm or ranch or whose parents had access to such property were included in the farm groups; all others were in the non-farm categories. Again Table 7 (page 66) presents those scores which were found to vary because of differences in background.

Obviously, the number of differences associated with farming experience was not as large as the number which vary by sex. Those rated higher by the farm group were: farm/ranch manager, cattle raiser, agricultural loan officer in a bank, soybean grower, feed store owner, cotton grower, swine raiser, farm implement salesman, crop duster, slaughterhouse manager, county home demonstration agent, custom hay baler, farm/ranch hand, tenant farmer, sharecropper, and killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse. Those receiving higher ratings from the non-farm groups were: nuclear physicist, landscape architect, biologist, government scientist, ecologist, rural sociologist, and Peace Corps Member. Students who have had farming experience showed a decided tendency to rate production and production-related occupations higher than did the students with no farming backgrounds, who probably had less direct contact with those occupations.

In addition, it may be that students with farming backgrounds are much more activity-oriented, while those from urban areas may show more regard for the sciences and somewhat academic endeavors. This difference may reflect the socialization, education, and training of these students, and though this research does not do so, it might be useful to investigate such things as the types of courses offered in their high schools, the kinds of courses they took, and the

extracurricular activities in which they participated. Such items might be useful in developing some generalizations about the typical frame of reference of each group.

Once again, the ranks of the occupations were examined to reveal differences in perceptions which had not been exposed by prestige scores. Again, most of those occupations who received ranks differing by at least nine had already been indicated as significantly different; however, this time two occupations were shown to differ in rank by more than nine although their scores did not prove statistically to be significantly different. Tree surgeon was ranked 24th by the non-farm group and 34th by the farm group. In addition, dietician held the 27th spot in the non-farm group's hierarchy, but was only 35th in that of the students with farm backgrounds. (See Table 9).

Here also is should be noted that differences deemed significant by test criterion might be very small in actual number and are not necessarily substantive.

Differences by Interaction

The scores of many of the occupations varied not only with sex and farm background, but with the combined effect of the two as well. Referring once again to Table 7, it is apparent that this interaction effect caused significant differences for only four occupations. The first of these farm/ranch manager; the largest difference in these scores was between the farm males and the non-farm males--farm men rated the job much higher than did the other men in the survey. Scores for ecologists were also affected by this interaction of sex and background; non-farm females rated it fourteen points higher than

TABLE 9. Farm Background and the Differences in Prestige of Agricultural Occupations.

Occupation	Background			
	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Score (1151)	Rank	Score (1181)	Rank
Veterinarian	92.8	1	92.6	1.5
Physician	90.3	2	92.6	1.5
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	88.6	3	90.2	3
Dean of Agriculture	86.2	4	86.5	5
Nuclear Physicist	83.2	5	86.9	4
Professor in Agriculture	92.3	6	81.9	6
Landscape Architect	77.7	8	81.8	7
Wildlife Refuge Manager	76.0	11	79.9	10
Farm Manager	79.6	7	74.9	15
Biologist	73.7	18	80.2	8
Government Scientist	73.9	17	79.5	11
Soil Conservationist	74.9	12	76.1	13
Plant Nursery Owner	74.5	14	76.0	14
Cattle Raiser	77.1	10	73.0	18
Ecologist	69.9	23	78.8	12
County Agriculture Agent	74.4	15.5	74.4	16
Agricultural Economist	74.4	15.5	74.2	17
Agricultural Loan Officer	74.8	13	70.7	19
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	71.2	21.5	70.5	20
Soybean Grower	71.6	20	66.7	27

TABLE 9. (continued)

Occupation	Background			
	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Score (1151)	Rank	Score (1181)	Rank
Tree Farmer	68.0	27	70.0	27
Feed Store Owner	71.7	19	66.4	29
Horse Trainer	68.7	26	68.3	22
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	69.7	24	67.2	23
Cotton Grower	71.2	21.5	65.6	31
Swine Raiser	69.5	25	63.5	37
Peanut Grower	67.4	28	64.5	34
Tree Surgeon	64.7	34	67.1	24
Poultry Raiser	66.5	29	64.9	32
Dietician	64.5	35	66.7	27
Florist	64.1	37	65.8	30
Housewife	65.9	33	63.9	35
Rural Sociologist	62.3	42	66.7	27
Fruit Inspector	63.9	38	64.4	33
Restaurant Manager	64.2	36	63.8	36
Farm Implement Salesman	66.2	31	61.5	39
Crop Duster	66.3	30	61.1	41
Home Economist	63.8	39	63.1	38
Slaughterhouse Manager	66.1	32	60.0	45
Peace Corps Member	58.7	46	66.9	25

TABLE 9. (continued)

Occupation	Background: Female Score	Female Rank	Non-Farm Score	Non-Farm Rank
County Home Demonstration Agent	63.3	41	61.2	40
Rice Grower	63.7	40	60.2	44
Railroad Engineer	60.2	43	60.8	42
Jockey	59.4	44	60.6	43
Pest Exterminator	59.1	45	57.6	46
Undertaker	56.8	47	56.3	47
Incubator Man	55.9	49	55.6	48
Railroad Conductor	53.3	52	53.2	49
Rodeo Cowboy	54.0	50	52.1	50
Hay Baler	56.1	48	48.9	52
Farm Hand	53.9	51	50.8	51
Tenant Farmer	49.9	53	44.6	55
Groundskeeper	46.0	55	47.9	53
Machine Operator	46.1	54	44.9	54
Sharecropper	45.7	56	40.6	56
Killfloor Worker	44.9	57	38.9	57
Filling Station Attendant	39.7	58	38.0	58
Clothes Presser in Laundry	34.9	59	33.7	59
Migratory Farm Worker	34.6	60	33.3	60

did farm males. Soybean grower, too, received rather divergent scores--the rating given it by farm men was somewhat higher than those of the other three groups, who all gave it very similar scores. And finally, housewife had a seven point spread in scores, the lowest given by the farm females and the highest by the farm males. It is quite interesting that all of these differences were related largely to the ratings given by the farm males in the study. It would probably be safe to say that of the four groups, this one had perhaps the most different perceptions of the occupational prestige hierarchy of agriculture.

Explained Variance

The point has been made that most of the differences picked up in this analysis were rather small in magnitude. Examining the R^2 computed for each of the occupations (again in Table 7) re-emphasized this finding. This model, which incorporated differences caused by sex, farm background, and the interaction of the two, explained only an extremely small amount of the variance in scores; in fact, the largest R^2 found was eight percent for ecologist.

In another light, this means that knowing the sex and farm background of a respondent could make, at most, an eight percent improvement in the predictions of prestige scores. It appears, then, that some other variables must have been operating which explain the variation in perceptions of the prestige of agricultural occupations.

Differences in Knowledge of Occupations

As explained in Chapter V, Reiss (1961) noted that an "I don't know" response could be an indication of lack of knowledge about an occupation, about its social standing, or both. Although there was no way to distinguish what it was about an occupation that a student did not know when he or she gave that response, it did seem useful to examine those occupations which the students were reluctant to rate. This section of analysis seeks to reveal whether systematic differences in the knowledge of these occupations might be explained by differences in sex, farming experience, or the interaction of the two. The average percentages of "don't know" responses for the four aggregates show that the farm males may know slightly more about agricultural occupations overall--the averages were 4.3 for farm females, 3.1 for farm males, 4.3 for non-farm females, and 4.2 for non-farm males. However, certain aggregates might have known more about particular occupations; the analysis which follows attempted to identify these.

In order to carry out the analysis of variance in the knowledge of these occupations, knowledge scores were first computed. They were, in essence, the percentage of the group who rated an occupation, regardless of what the rating was (excellent, poor, etc.). In other words, the percentage of "don't know" responses was subtracted from one hundred. Table 10 presents these knowledge scores as well as the F-values used to determine significant differences in knowledge.

Effects of Sex on Knowledge

As Table 10 indicates, there were not a large number of differences

TABLE 10: Analysis of Variance in Knowledge Scores by Sex, Farm Background, and Interaction of the Two

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Veterinarian	100.0†	99.6	99.3	99.7	0.00	0.82	2.19	>.01
Physician	100.0†	99.3	99.5	99.2	1.75	0.70	0.20	>.01
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	97.4	98.2	99.1	97.2	0.66	0.29	3.68	>.01
Dean of College of Agriculture	98.3	98.3	98.8	97.6	0.94	0.01	0.89	>.01
Nuclear Physicist	96.9	97.4	98.3	98.8	0.52	4.14	0.00	>.01
Professor in Agriculture	100.0†	99.3	99.5	99.5	1.10	0.26	0.77	>.01
Landscape Architect	100.0†	98.5	99.5	98.8	4.97	0.06	0.53	>.01
USDA Researcher	97.3	99.1	98.8	98.4	1.42	0.41	3.78	>.01
Wildlife Refuge Manager	99.1	99.0	99.5	98.9	0.95	0.33	0.07	>.01
Farm/Ranch Manager	99.1	99.9	98.8	97.6	0.20	6.69*	3.86	>.01
Biologist	98.7	97.3	97.9	98.7	0.24	0.20	2.74	>.01
Government Scientist	95.7	96.4	98.1	97.5	0.00	4.37	0.89	>.01

TABLE 10: (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Soil Conservationist	97.0	99.2	98.6	98.4	3.57	0.50	4.85	>.01
Plant Nursery Owner and Operator	98.7	97.4	98.8	97.4	3.97	0.00	0.83	>.01
Cattle Raiser	99.1	99.7	98.8	98.5	0.08	2.57	0.83	>.01
Ecologist	97.8	97.2	98.8	97.6	1.72	1.01	0.14	>.01
County Agricultural Agent	98.7	99.1	97.4	97.2	0.04	6.25*	0.21	>.01
Agricultural Economist	97.4	98.3	99.5	97.0	1.64	0.38	6.53*	>.01
Agricultural Loan Officer in a Bank	94.3	96.7	93.9	94.7	2.46	1.47	0.67	>.01
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	96.9	98.7	97.6	96.1	0.02	1.58	4.61	>.01
Soybean Grower	96.5	99.1	97.6	97.3	2.98	0.25	4.68	>.01
Tree Farmer	96.5	97.5	96.6	97.2	0.96	0.02	0.11	>.01
Feed Store Owner	99.1	99.8	98.8	98.6	0.34	2.74	0.84	>.01
Horse Trainer	99.1	98.4	97.3	96.2	1.52	7.20*	0.10	>.01

TABLE 10: (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	99.6	98.2	98.6	97.5	3.94	1.66	0.06	>.01
Cotton Grower	96.1	98.9	95.6	96.2	4.59	4.38	1.92	>.01*
Swine Raiser	96.5	99.0	95.6	96.2	4.59	4.39	1.92	>.01*
Peanut Grower	94.3	98.1	96.6	96.3	4.43	0.12	5.98*	>.01
Tree Surgeon	93.1	94.0	93.0	94.9	1.53	0.10	0.18	>.01
Poultry Raiser	96.1	98.0	98.6	96.3	0.06	0.22	7.64*	>.01
Dietician	97.4	94.9	98.6	95.1	10.17*	0.56	0.25	>.01*
Florist	98.7	97.3	99.1	97.8	4.01	0.36	0.01	>.01
Housewife	95.2	92.7	94.9	93.2	3.20	0.02	0.10	>.01
Rural Sociologist	94.8	92.5	92.8	92.9	0.82	0.47	1.02	>.01
Fruit Inspector	96.1	97.3	97.0	94.9	0.29	0.81	3.34	>.01
Restaurant Manager	98.7	98.9	98.6	98.1	0.05	0.59	0.32	>.01
Farm Implement Salesman	95.1	99.3	94.7	96.6	14.80*	3.91	2.05	.01*

TABLE 10: (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Crop Duster	94.7	97.8	94.4	95.9	6.14*	1.32	0.71	>.01*
Home Economist	97.0	96.1	95.1	94.3	0.69	3.40	0.01	>.01
Slaughterhouse Manager	94.7	98.0	93.5	95.9	9.62*	3.10	0.20	.01*
Peace Corps Member	94.8	92.6	95.1	93.8	2.26	0.42	0.15	>.01
County Home Demonstration Agent	92.7	92.6	95.1	93.8	2.26	0.42	0.15	>.01
Rice Grower	86.1	90.6	85.7	87.0	3.60	1.64	1.12	>.10
Railroad Engineer	94.3	96.4	93.7	95.0	2.81	1.08	0.14	>.01
Jockey	93.6	91.1	92.0	91.0	1.72	0.38	0.30	>.01
Pest Exterminator	95.6	98.2	96.8	98.4	8.48*	1.04	0.61	>.01
Undertaker	90.0	92.5	92.8	92.2	0.52	0.91	1.37	>.01
Incubator Man	74.8	84.1	69.9	79.6	24.39*	5.95	0.01	.02*
Railroad Conductor	90.1	95.3	92.5	93.1	6.28	0.01	3.90	>.01
Rodeo Cowboy	92.9	97.0	94.9	95.4	5.21	0.05	3.36	>.01

TABLE 10: (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm		F Values			R^2
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Sex	Background	Interaction	
Custom Hay Baler	91.1	97.5	83.5	90.4	26.55*	32.48*	0.02	.04*
Farm/Ranch Hand	98.7	99.5	98.4	97.2	0.11	4.88	2.58	>.01*
Tenant Farmer	96.4	97.5	91.5	95.0	5.19	13.93*	1.43	.01*
Groundskeeper	95.2	96.3	93.0	96.3	5.09	1.14	1.24	>.01
Machine Operator in a Factory	95.3	98.0	97.0	96.6	2.20	0.02	3.91	>.01
Sharecropper	94.3	97.2	93.2	94.2	3.45	4.15	0.84	>.01*
Killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse	90.3	95.9	90.3	92.3	9.75*	2.26	2.27	.01*
Filling Station Attendant	97.8	98.1	97.6	97.6	0.04	0.26	0.05	>.01
Clothes Presser in a Laundry	92.5	94.7	96.8	95.5	0.18	6.24*	2.90	>.01
Migratory Farm Worker	95.1	95.8	95.6	95.3	0.03	0.00	0.30	>.01

*Significant at the .01 level of probability
+No students in this grouping marked the "I don't know" response

in knowledge associated with sex. Most of the differences were due to fewer "don't know" responses having been given by the males; this was true of farm implement salesman, crop duster, slaughterhouse manager, pest exterminator, incubator man, custom hay baler, and killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse. It appears, then, that men knew more about agriculture-related occupations than women. This may have been because those with farming backgrounds probably knew more about the requirements, duties, rewards, etc. of these jobs, and, as previously seen, more men than women in the study had farming experience.

Only one job, dietician, received higher knowledge scores from women than from men. This was probably because the vocation is usually held by women more often than men, so the female students probably received more information about it in their occupational educations. However, this did not seem to be the case for other traditionally female jobs such as florist, housewife, or home economist.

Effects of Farm Background on Knowledge

Referring to Table 10 again, it appears that farm background explained significant differences in knowledge scores for very few of the occupations. Most of those differences resulted from the students with farm backgrounds giving few "don't knows"'s; this was true of farm/ranch manager, county agricultural agent, horse trainer, custom hay baler, and tenant farmer. Obviously, these were occupations which were traditionally agricultural; those students without any farming experience may have never been in contact with people who held those positions nor ever received much information about them.

The one occupation which non-farm respondents knew more about than did farm ones was clothes presser in a laundry. This was not really surprising since many rural and farm areas probably have very few people in them who hold this position.

Effects of Interaction on Knowledge

There were only three occupations for which the interaction of sex and farm background explained significant differences in knowledge (see Table 10). Agricultural economist was given highest scores by non-farm females and lowest by non-farm males. Farm males knew most about peanut growers while farm females knew the least. And poultry raiser was known most by non-farm females and least by farm females. No consistent pattern seemed to emerge in these differences. However, it should be noted once again that the test criterion used was highly sensitive and that the differences may actually be so small that without the statistical test they might not have been decided significant.

Explained Variance in Knowledge

Examination of the R^2's (Table 10), again shows that the model does little to explain the variance in knowledge of these occupations; in most cases, it explained less than one percent of the difference. The largest R^2 value was only four percent, for custom hay baler, which once again leads to the conclusion that some other factors are more closely associated with students' perceptions and knowledge of the occupational prestige hierarchy of agriculture.

Differences in Non-Response

This phase of the analysis examined the percentage in each aggregate who did not respond when asked to rate each of the sixty occupations; this data is presented in Table 11. As indicated in Chapter V, the percentages varied from occupation to occupation because of both methodological problems in the questionnaire and actual differences in non-response. The average percentage of non-response for each of the four categories was: farm females, 3.4 percent; farm males, 3.9; non-farm females, 3.2; and non-farm males, 2.9. It appears safe to say, then, that the aggregates were probably very similar in their non-responses because, although the non-farm males gave a slightly lower average of non-responses, for no occupation was there more than a three percent difference. It seems that the non-responses were probably randomly distributed throughout the sample, although an examination of the relationship of some other variables with non-response might prove this assumption erroneous.

Other Possible Factors in Differences

Although they have not been entered into a model and tested, it was deemed useful to look at two other factors which might have affected the perceptions and knowledge of the hierarchy within each category. The first was socioeconomic background of the students. Unfortunately, the only measure of this concept available at the time of this analysis was income level of family; the occupations of the parents were still in the coding process. An examination of these average yearly family incomes (Table 12) indicated that the four

TABLE 11. Percentage of Non-Responses by Aggregates.

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Verterinarian	2.9	2.3	2.1	1.7
Physician	2.5	2.3	2.8	1.8
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	2.9	2.2	1.6	1.8
Dean of College of Agriculture	2.9	2.6	1.8	2.3
Nuclear Physicist*	5.4	5.7	5.0	4.4
Professor of Agriculture*	5.0	5.5	5.0	4.5
Landscape Architect*	5.4	5.8	4.8	4.5
USDA Researcher*	5.9	5.9	5.5	4.9
Wildlife Refuge Manager	2.9	2.3	1.8	1.3
Farm/Ranch Manager	2.9	2.5	2.1	1.6
Biologist	2.9	3.0	1.6	1.8
Government Scientists	3.8	2.6	1.6	2.1
Soil Conservationist	3.3	2.5	2.8	2.1
Plant Nursery Owner/Operator	2.5	2.3	1.2	2.1
Cattle Raiser	2.5	2.3	1.8	1.7
Ecologist	2.9	2.3	1.8	1.7
County Agricultural Agent	2.9	3.0	3.0	1.7
Agricultural Economist	2.9	2.3	2.3	1.4
Agricultural Loan Officer in Bank	4.2	2.8	1.8	2.5

TABLE 11. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Newspaper Agricultural Editor	5.0	5.5	4.8	4.3
Soybean Grower	5.4	5.7	4.8	4.2
Tree Farmer	5.0	5.8	4.8	4.2
Feed Store Owner	5.0	5.5	4.8	4.0
Horse Trainer	5.9	5.7	4.8	4.3
High School Vocational Agriculture Teacher	2.5	2.5	1.8	2.2
Cotton Grower	2.9	2.4	1.8	2.1
Swine Raiser	5.0	5.6	4.8	4.3
Peanut Grower	5.0	5.7	5.0	4.5
Tree Surgeon	2.9	2.5	1.8	1.6
Poultry Raiser	2.5	2.5	2.5	1.7
Dietician	2.5	2.3	1.6	1.4
Florist	2.5	2.2	2.1	1.6
Housewife	5.0	6.3	4.8	4.9
Rural Sociologist	2.9	2.8	1.8	1.6
Fruit Inspector	2.5	2.2	1.6	1.7
Restaurant Manager*	5.4	5.9	4.8	4.2
Farm Implement Salesman	5.4	5.7	4.8	4.2
Crop Duster	5.0	5.8	5.3	4.4
Home Economist	2.5	2.4	2.1	1.4
Slaughterhouse Manager	5.4	5.8	5.0	4.4

TABLE 11. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Peace Corps Member	3.8	2.8	1.8	1.8
County Home Demonstration Agent	3.3	2.4	2.1	1.9
Rice Grower	3.8	2.6	1.8	1.9
Railroad Engineer	3.8	2.1	2.1	1.6
Jockey	2.5	2.4	2.3	1.9
Pest Exterminator*	5.9	5.8	5.5	4.3
Undertaker	3.3	2.9	1.8	1.9
Incubator Man	3.8	2.8	2.5	2.7
Railroad Conductor	2.5	2.3	1.8	1.7
Rodeo Cowboy*	5.4	5.9	4.8	4.5
Custom Hay Baler*	6.3	5.6	5.3	4.4
Farm/Ranch Hand	2.5	2.3	2.1	1.7
Tenant Farmer*	5.9	5.9	5.3	4.2
Groundskeeper*	5.0	5.9	5.0	4.5
Machine Operator in a Factory	2.5	2.6	1.8	1.7
Sharecropper	3.8	2.5	2.1	2.2
Killfloor worker in a slaughterhouse*	5.0	6.3	5.3	4.3
Filling Station Attendant	5.4	6.0	4.8	4.3
Clothes Presser in a Laundry	5.4	6.3	5.5	4.5

TABLE 11. (continued)

Occupation	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Migratory Farm Worker	5.4	5.7	5.5	4.3
AVERAGE	3.4	3.9	3.2	2.9

*These occupations apparently received higher percentages of non-response because they were located on the back cover of the questionnaire.

TABLE 12. Average Yearly Family Incomes of Respondents

Income ($)	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)
< 5,000	2.0	3.1	0.3	3.4
5,000 to 9,999	8.7	9.3	5.9	7.4
10,000 to 14,999	12.2	19.3	13.5	14.0
15,000 to 19,999	12.8	16.8	13.0	17.7
20,000 to 24,999	18.9	13.8	20.3	19.6
25,000 to 34,999	15.3	16.5	21.9	20.0
35,000 to 49,999	12.2	10.0	12.4	11.0
50,000 to 74,999	7.7	6.4	9.2	4.7
75,000 to 99,999	4.6	2.1	2.7	1.3
>100,000	5.6	2.4	0.8	0.9

categories were very similar. Most of the students were from middle-of-the-range income families. The farm females probably displayed the most diversity--there were almost as many of them from families which made more than $75,000 a year as there were those whose families earned less than $10,000. A slightly higher percentage of farm males came from families earning less than $10,000, and very few non-farm females were from this group. For the most part, however, there was not much difference among the categories, and so income level probably had little to do with perceptions and knowledge of agricultural occupations.

The other variable which might have been associated with differences among the categories was major field of study; Table 13 presents those most often listed by the students. As it shows, farm females clustered primarily in animal science and horticulture; non-farm females were found in the same two fields thought they were reversed--more were in horticulture than in animal science. Farm men studied animal science and agricultural economics most often, while non-farm men concentrated most in forestry and animal science. Of note is the observation that all four categories had large percentages of students majoring in animal science; this may have been responsible, in part, for the high scores and large agreement given veterinarian. Other differences in major field of study might account for some of the differences in perception--there were more women than men in food science, which could explain the differences in the prestige and knowledge scores given dietician. However, the percentage of men in agricultural education exceeded that of women, yet this seemed to have little effect on the scores given high school vocational

TABLE 13: Percentage of Each Agregate in Most Popular Major Fields of Study.

Major*	Farm		Non-Farm	
	Female (239)	Male (944)	Female (436)	Male (771)
Agricultural Economics	3.4%	13.6%	2.6%	5.1%
Agricultural Education	2.1	7.2	0.7	2.0
Agricultural Engineering	---	4.7	0.7	2.5
Agriculture (General)	2.1	4.4	1.9	2.9
Agronomy	4.6	9.3	2.8	5.9
Animal Science	26.1	20.0	16.9	8.1
Food Science	1.3	0.8	3.0	0.8
Forestry	3.4	3.0	7.0	13.7
Forestry Management	---	0.7	0.5	3.0
Horticulture	16.0	8.9	22.7	5.6
Pre-Veterinary Science	8.4	5.4	6.7	5.8
Wildlife Science	1.7	1.2	1.2	3.7
Other Biological Sciences	3.4	1.5	8.8	6.7

*Majors listed here only if at least 3% of one of the groups gave it as their field of study.

agriculture teacher.

It is difficult to say, then, that these factors are or are not associated with significant differences in perception of agricultural occupational prestige. What probably should be done is to enter these factors into a model along with several others to test whether they help explain an appreciable amount of the variation in prestige and knowledge scores. This research, however, does not include this analysis; it merely suggests it for possible future research of occupational prestige.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This thesis is, in essence, an investigation into the prestige hierarchy of agricultural occupations. The groundwork was laid for the study by first discussing the concept "occupational prestige" and reviewing the research which has been conducted concerning the notion. In a strict sociological sense, occupational prestige was found to mean the acceptance, deference, or derogation accorded a person because of the occupation he or she holds. However, a look at the history of studies concerning the idea revealed the use of a much looser notion of the concept--it has come to refer to the sum total of all rewards associated with a job, both psychic and material.

The study of occupational prestige has been extensive. Popular opinions were used as early as 1925 to determine the social standing of a number of selected occupations, and a 1947 study is still used today as the basis for many social status and social mobility studies. The prestige hierarchies established in the studies reviewed have proven to be quite reliable, varying little over time or across populations. In fact, individual characteristics of the respondents which could conceivably affect their value systems appear to make no systematic differences in their perceptions of occupational prestige.

This study was intended to determine whether the occupational prestige hierarchy of agriculture is similar to the general hierarchy and to examine once again whether individual characteristics of evaluators account for significant differences in the perceptions of

that hierarchy. An in-depth analysis of the responses given by agriculture students concerning the prestige of sixty selected occupations was conducted to address these questions. This analysis was intended to add prestige scores of previously unevaluated occupations to the already substantial assemblage of such scores. In addition, it would give some idea whether the specificity of an occupation within the agricultural situs affects its standing. And, this research would reveal whether the sex and farm background of the respondents made systematic differences in their perceptions of those occupations.

The purpose of this final chapter is three-fold. First, it will summarize the empirical findings of the analysis conducted. In addition, it will include a discussion of the theoretical and methodological limitations of the study and will present an assessment of this research for that of the future.

Summary of Empirical Findings

The first phase of analysis involved converting the students' evaluations of the sixty occupations into prestige scores and then arranging them hierarchically. Perhaps the most obvious conclusion to be drawn from this research is that the prestige hierarchy of agricultural occupations is much the same as the hierarchy of the general occupational structure. Occupations which have rigid educational and training requirements and which are generally well-rewarded materially are ranked high on the prestige ladder; those which involve manual labor requiring little special skill or knowledge hold the bottom

positions.

Unlike most past studies, this research involved the evaluation of many production agriculture occupations. An examination of these jobs and their scores disclosed an interesting finding--although there may be many unmeasured psychic rewards to farming, there seem to be few social ones associated with working the land. Unless, of course, the worker is also the owner of that property. But, the commodity being produced makes little difference in the social status of the farmer or rancher; those who raised swine or cotton or trees were all placed on approximately the same step of the prestige ladder. In other words, the hierarchy developed here lends support to the Marxian idea that our capitalist society greatly values the ownership of the means of production as well as control of the labor of others.

Because this was a study of agricultural occupations conducted using a sample of agriculture students, their evaluations might have been rather biased by their aspired involvement in the agricultural system. However, a comparison of these students' evaluations with those of other respondents in past studies showed that they view the occupational prestige hierarchy very similarly. Correlation coefficients for sets of comparable occupations were found to be rather high--a finding which adds to the credibility of the hierarchy developed.

Of course, the evaluations given by these agriculture students were never unanimously agreed upon. There was always some divergence in the respondents' perceptions, although it was much greater for some occupations than others. Supposing that certain characteristics of the students might be associated with these differences, two factors were chosen with which to investigate the assumption--sex and farm background.

These two factors were used because it is along these lines that basic changes in Colleges of Agriculture have been occurring. The entrance of many women and urban students into agricultural studies may have divided the Colleges into very distinct groups with quite different frames of reference and so, different values and perceptions. However, this supposition was not supported by the data; there were some differences in ratings of occupations along these lines, but analysis with regard to sex and farm background did not reveal any major variations.

Analysis of variance in prestige and knowledge scores was conducted to assess differences explained by these two characteristics. Table 14 summarizes differences found to be statistically significant with regard to sex. Women rated many scientific, humanistic, and aesthetic jobs higher than did men, but they knew more about only one--dietician. Conversely, men gave higher evaluations to production and production-related vocations and appeared to know more than women about many of these latter jobs. Perhaps the best explanation would be that men have traditionally been more involved in production occupations while women who have entered agriculture have chosen scientific and professional vocations more frequently; this tradition has probably not yet seen many major changes.

Farm background also accounted for some differences in prestige and knowledge scores (see Table 15). Non-farm students rated many scientific and aesthetic occupations higher than did farm students, but they knew more about only a single vocation--clothes presser in a laundry. Farm students, on the other hand, rated higher and knew more about production and production-related occupations. Again, these findings may be due to the areas of agriculture which students

TABLE 14. Summary of Findings Regarding Perceptions of Agricultural Occupations: Differences by Sex.

Women		Men	
Rated Higher	Knew More About	Rated Higher	Knew More About
veterinarian	--	soybean grower	--
physician	--	feedstore owner	--
nuclear physicist	--	cotton grower	--
landscape architect	--	peanut grower	--
USDA Researcher	--	housewife	--
wildlife refuge manager	--	crop duster	crop duster
biologist	--	slaughterhouse manager	slaughterhouse manager
government scientist	--	rice grower	--
soil conservationist	--	custom hay baler	custom hay baler
plant nursery owner/operator	--	farm/ranch hand	--
ecologist	--	tenant farmer	--
newspaper agricultural editor	--	killfloor worker	killfloor worker
horse trainer	--	clothes presser	--
tree surgeon	--	--	farm implement salesman
dietician	dietician	--	incubator man
florist	--		
rural sociologist	--		
Peace Corps Member	--		
railroad engineer	--		
jockey	--		
railroad conductor	--		

TABLE 15. Summary of Findings Regarding Perceptions of Agricultural Occupations: Differences by Farm Background

Farm		Non-farm	
Rated Higher	Knew More About	Rated Higher	Knew More About
farm/ranch manager	farm/ranch manager	nuclear physicist	--
cattle raiser	--	landscape architect	--
agricultural loan officer in bank	--	biologist	--
soybean grower	--	government scientist	--
feedstore owner	--	ecologist	--
cotton grower	--	rural sociologist	--
swine raiser	--	Peace Corps Member	--
farm implement salesman	--	tree surgeon	--
crop duster	--	dietician	--
slaughterhouse manager	--	--	clothes presser
county home demonstration agent	--		
custom hay baler	custom hay baler		
farm/ranch hand	--		
tenant farmer	tenant farmer		
sharecropper	--		
killfloor worker	--		
--	county agricultural agent		
--	horse trainer		

with these backgrounds traditionally enter, or it may be due to differences in interaction with persons who hold these occupations--students with farm backgrounds may have more opportunity to exchange with people who hold such jobs as custom hay baler or county agricultural agent.

The interaction of these two factors, sex and farm background, was also associated with some differences, although they were few in number. Looking at these differences (Table 16), it is probably safe to conclude that farm men are the group most different from the others. They seem to know more about, and think more highly of, the traditional agricultural occupations, which are production or production-related in nature.

As an aside, it might be noted that knowing more about an occupation does not necessarily lead to a higher rating, although many times the two do occur for the same occupation. Knowledge of occupations was not researched extensively here as it was in the 1947 NORC study, but it is probable that many respondents rated occupations which they actually knew little about; Reiss (1961) as well as Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi (1964:328) found that "respondents are willing to evaluate occupations without a clear and well-defined idea of the duties involved in their performance."

The model which incorporated these two characteristics of the respondents plus their interaction was able to account for, at best, only eight percent of the variance in scores. This leads to the conclusion that sex and farming experience are not significantly associated with perceptions of occupational prestige.

So, the findings of this research support those of so many past studies--the occupational prestige hierarchy is constant and pervasive.

TABLE 16. Summary of Findings Regarding Perceptions of Agriculture Occupations: Differences by Interaction

Occupations	Rated Highest	Rated Lowest	Knew Most About	Knew Least About
Farm/Ranch Manager	FM	NFM		
Ecologist	NFF	FM		
Soybean Grower	FM	*		
Housewife	FM	FF		
Agriculture Economist			NFF	NFM
Peanut Grower			FM	FF
Poultry Raiser			NFF	FF

FM = farm males NFM = non-farm males

FF = farm females NFF = non-farm females

* = other three groups gave very similar scores

Even within the agricultural situs, professional and managerial positions are rated highest and manual labor jobs, lowest. In addition, the social characteristics of the respondents again made very little difference in perceptions of the hierarchy.

Limitations of the Research

Perhaps the most severe limitation of this study stems from the fact that the debate about the validity of these measures of occupational prestige still continues. There is yet no conclusive proof that asking a respondent the "general standing" of an occupation is really a valid index of that occupation's prestige. It can also be argued that the weighing of responses to compute prestige scores is rather arbitrary. However, this practice has been used extensively throughout research of occupational prestige, so, if nothing else, this study serves as a replication which gives credibility to earlier studies.

Of course, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to the entire population of society because it utilized a very select sample of respondents. It would be difficult to justify using the perceptions of a group of Southern college agriculture students to represent the American population. Because of their probable aspirations to join the agricultural system and their special awareness of many of these occupations, these students may give much higher prestige and knowledge scores for these selected occupations. Although comparisons with past studies show that their perceptions probably differ very little from others', further research needs to address this subject; afterall, most of these comparisons were with regard to

non-agricultural occupations. A national sample, chosen at random from the entire population, might give a better assessment of the prestige of agricultural occupations in contemporary society.

Then, too, the division of the sample into categories may not have accomplished what it set out to do. Because the limitations set for inclusion in the farm category were rather broad, they may not really have divided the sample as hoped. Certainly a student who lived on a farm for a single year as a very small child was probably socialized very differently and exhibits very different attitudes and values than one who lived on a farm all of his or her life. Perhaps some other criteria could have segmented the respondents into more homogeneous categories.

Implications for the Future

Although this research is lacking in several ways, it is nonetheless useful. First, it provides prestige scores for many occupations which until now had been unevaluated. Many social scientists may find the results helpful in their attempts to classify many rural and agrarian occupations for the purposes of carrying out social status and social mobility studies.

In addition, the study points out in part the desirability of certain agricultural occupations, and so may aid employers, trainers, and counselors in recruiting new members and in establishing "professionalism" within agriculture. Similarly, the results may prove useful to several occupational organizations in adding credential and merit to their vocations.

The study also suggests that sex and farm background account for only small differences in perceptions of occupations. It may be, then, that future researchers need show little concern for choosing samples along these lines. A discrepancy in two samples with regard to sex or farm background would probably not be responsible for divergent results.

It may also be that educators and administrators have been operating with the misconception that these characteristics divide their student bodies into very distinct groups. The fact of the matter is that men and women, urbanites and ruralites all seem to have quite similar perceptions and knowledge of the hierarchy of agricultural occupations.

In summary, this study serves as an initial investigation into the prestige of agricultural occupations. Hopefully it will serve as a basis for continued research into this situs and others. Perhaps future studies will be able to answer many of the questions which this study has raised.

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APPENDIX A

COMPARISONS OF PAST STUDIES WITH STUDY OF AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS: OCCUPATIONS USED TO COMPUTE SPEARMAN CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS.

1925 Counts: 45 occupations, 450 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
banker	1	3
college professor	2	2
physician	3	1
high school teacher	4	4
locomotive engineer	5	6
railroad conductor	6	7
salesman	7	5
factory operative	8	8

1927 Anderson: 24 occupations, 609 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
professor	2	2
banker	3	3
school teacher	4	5
merchant	5	4
salesman	6	6
factory operative	7	7

1934 Hartmann: 12 occupations, 50 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
college professor	2	2
high school teacher	3	4
merchant	4	3
salesman	5	5

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Appendix A: (continued)

1934 Hartmann: 25 occupations, 92 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
college professor	2	2
high school teacher	3	4
merchant	4	3
salesman	5	5

Hartmann: 25 occupations, 100 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
college professor	2	2
high school teacher	3	3

1935 Nietz: 40 occupations, 346 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
college professor	1	2
banker	2	3
physician	3	1
high school teacher	4	4
locomotive	5	6
railroad conductor	6	7
salesman	7	5
factory operative	8	8

Nietz: 40 occupations, 832 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
banker	2	3
college professor	3	2
high school teacher	4	4
locomotive engineer	5	6
railroad conductor	6	7
salesman	7	5
factory operative	8	8

Appendix A: (continued)

1935 Nietz: 40 occupations, 1622 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
banker	1	3
college professor	2	2
physician	3	1
high school teacher	4	4
locomotive engineer	5	6
railroad conductor	6	7
salesman	7	5
factory operative	8	8

1936 Coutu: 20 occupations, 243 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
college professor	2	2
public school teacher	3	3

Coutu: 20 occupations, 142 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
college professor	2	2
public school teacher	3	3

Coutu: 20 occupations, 202 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
college professor	2	2
public school teacher	3	3

Appendix A: (continued)

1941 Ruch: 25 occupations, 673 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
banker	1	3
physician	2	1
professor	3	2
school teacher	4	5
merchant	5	4
salesman	6	6
factory operative	7	7

1943 Smith: 100 occupations, 345 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
U.S. cabinet secretary	1	2
banker	2	3
medical doctor	3	1
undertaker	4	6
locomotive engineer	5	5
conductor, steam railroad	6	7
salesman	7	4
farm tenant	8	9
auto filling station attendent	9	10
farm laborer	10	8
unskilled migratory worker	11	11

1946 Byers: 25 occupations, 50 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
professor	2	2
banker	3	3
school teacher	4	4
salesman	5	5
factory worker	6	6

Appendix A: (continued)

1947 NORC: 90 occupations, respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
cabinet member in the federal government	2	2
college professor	3	4
government scientist	4.5	6
banker	4.5	9
nuclear physicist	6	3
sociologist	7	11
biologist	8	5
economist	9	8
public school teacher	10	10
railroad engineer	11.5	12
county agricultural agent	11.5	7
undertaker	13	13
tenant farmer	14	16
railroad conductor	15	14
machine operator in a factory	16	17
filling station attendant	17	19
farm hand	18	15
clothes presser in a laundry	19	20
sharecropper	20	18

1948 Baudler and Patterson: 29 occupations, 763 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
high school teacher	2	2
salesperson	3	3
factory operative	4	4
laundry worker	5	5

1949 Welch: 26 occupations, 500 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
banker	2	2
high school teacher	3	3

Appendix A: (continued)

1951 Brown: 45 occupations, 200 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
doctor of medicine	1	1
cabinet member of the federal government	2	2
college professor	3	4
nuclear scientist	4	3
sociologist	5	9
biologist	6	5
economist	7	7
public school teacher	8	8
county agricultural agent	9	6
railroad engineer	10	11
undertaker	11	12
farm tenant	12	13
traveling salesman	13	10

1964 Hodge, Siegal, and Rossi: 90 occupations, 651 respondents

occupations compared	rank	rank in agriculture study
physician	1	1
cabinet member	2	2
college professor	3	4
government scientist	4	6
banker	5	9
nuclear physicist	6	3
sociologist	7	11
biologist	8	5
public school teacher	9	10
economist	10	8
railroad engineer	11	12
county agricultural agent	12	7
undertaker	13	13
tenant farmer	14	16
railroad conductor	15	14
machine operator	16	17
filling station attendant	17	19
farm hand	18	15
clothes presser	19	20
sharecropper	20	18

APPENDIX B

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